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TAKING TOO MUCH FOR GRANTED?

A STUDY ON THE MEASUREMENT OF SOCIAL ATTITUDES

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VOORWOORD

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Christine

Amsterdam, Januari 2007.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION: TAKING TOO MUCH FOR GRANTED?

The title of this thesis is inspired by the works of Stanley Payne (1951). In his book “The art of asking questions”, a chapter is called “May we presume?: A lecture on taking too much for granted”. In this thesis we will focus on the basic assumptions of traditional attitude research and especially on those assumptions that scholars tend to take for granted.

Studying attitudes is a core business of social psychology and more generally of public opinion research. Besides, in our daily lives we are often asked to give our opinion about all kinds of issues. In ordinary conversations we do not only give our opinions but we also ask our friends and relatives what they think about issues that concern us. The interest of social psychology in attitudes started in the 1930's. The topics of these scientific studies differ as much as they differ in day-to-day life. In those studies respondents are asked their opinion about a wide variety of issues. For example, respondents are asked about their attitude toward all kinds of social issues, such as blood donation (Pomozal & Jaccard, 1976) or smoking marihuana (Ajzen et al. 1982).

In this thesis we will study the measurement of attitudes toward three ethnic minorities in The Netherlands. In contrast with a lot of attitude research, the aim of this study is not to assess to what degree Dutch people have positive or negative attitudes toward these social groups. Instead, we focus on three methodological aspects of the measurement of attitudes, i.e.: 1) the structure of attitudes; 2) conceptual problems regarding attitude research, and 3) operational problems with regard to attitude research. Both conceptual and operational problems are dealing with the concepts and words used in the questionnaire. We define conceptual problems as problems concerning the denotative meaning of the attitude object. We define an operational problem as a question wording problem with regard to evaluative terms about the attitude object presented in the questionnaire. Stating this means that a large part of this thesis focuses on question wording.

1.1 RESEARCH ON QUESTION WORDING

The research on question wording in attitude and opinion research started in the 1940's when academic and commercial survey researchers conducted a number of experiments on question wording in attitude research (e.g. Cantrill, 1944). In the 1950's Stanley Payne (1951) published his book on the art of asking questions. Payne (1951) argues that all problems regarding question wording stem from taking too

much for granted. Researchers tend to assume that respondents understand the questions that they present to them and also that the answers of the respondents fit in with the frame of reference assumed by the researcher. Exactly the frames of reference used by respondents are the main topic of this study. We will elaborate on this matter later in this chapter. Payne argues that the problem of taking too much for granted becomes more confound when a large part of the respondents does use the frame of reference as assumed by the researcher, while another large part does not use this frame. This threatens the comparability of answers between respondents or groups of respondents.

Belson (1981) also studied the interpretation of questions by respondents. Belson argues that it is of utmost importance to determine how the questions are interpreted. He points to the problem that the validity of survey research is at risk if the respondents fail to interpret the question as intended by its designer. Belson studied the interpretation of questions by asking a random sample of 265 adult inhabitants from London some experimental questions. Each of the questions dealt with the respondents' ideas about and reactions to television. To give some insight into those experimental questions used, we present one example. By showing this example, we also want to emphasize that problems with the interpretation of terms in the question do not only concern difficult words or jargon. The respondents were asked the next question: "Do you think any programs have a bad effect on young people by teaching them slang?" At first sight this seems an ordinary question, but according to Belson only about twenty percent of the respondents interpreted the question the way the designer intended it. One of the first problems concerned the interpretation of the terms 'young people'. Respondents' definitions ranged from five year olds to twenty year olds. Also, the term 'slang' was interpreted in various ways. For example, some respondents interpreted 'slang' as 'bad grammar', 'poor pronunciation' or 'swearing or bad talk', while others interpreted it as 'crime, violence, bad sex life, and bad manners'. Finally, some respondents interpreted the term 'any programs' as solely programs showing crime or violence.

This example shows that even 'simple' terms can be interpreted in numerous ways, and respondents differ in their definitions of terms presented in the questions. We do find it remarkable that in the daily practice of attitude research there is hardly any awareness of these problems, and even in the methodological literature concerning attitude research this is an underdeveloped area. We want to take these 'old-fashioned' experiments to a new level. In this study we asked three hundred respondents about their attitudes toward respectively allochtonen¹, Muslims and Moroccan youths in The

¹ In this thesis we will use the Dutch term 'allochtonen' because there is no English equivalent of this term. Allochtonen are 'officially' defined as: People who themselves or one of their parents are not born in The

Netherlands. We chose these three groups, because they differ in the way they are presented in the Dutch media and respondents may frame them in very different ways. As a consequence, we expect that these three social groups differ in two essential aspects: 1) the denotative meaning that respondents assign to the group and 2) the consensus among respondents regarding this denotative meaning of the group. To gain insight into the problems regarding question wording we will ask respondents closed and additional open questions about the three social groups.

We believe that question wording is as important now as it was in the fifties and sixties of the previous century. Unfortunately this aspect of the design of studies is often neglected in attitude research. Instead researchers take the interpretation of questions for granted. In this study we focus on what we consider to be three basic assumptions of traditional attitude research: 1) people have a univocal mental representation of the attitude object as a distinct entity; 2) it is possible to measure evaluations with regard to these representations; and 3) these mental representations are comparable between people, i.e. people attach the same denotative meaning(s) to the attitude object as presented in the questionnaire. Although attitude researchers seldom mention these assumptions explicitly, the definition of attitude objects as mental objects, in contrast with physical objects, implicitly endorses these assumptions (see for example, Van der Pligt & de Vries, 1995).

The first assumption indicates that respondents attach one univocal denotative meaning to the attitude object as presented in the questionnaire. The term ‘univocal denotative meaning’ needs some explanation. For example, consider when respondents are asked about their attitudes toward the attitude object ‘your mother’. We argue that with an attitude object like this, that is one distinct person; we may assume that generally respondents attach a univocal denotative meaning to this object. Of course this does not mean that all respondents have the same attitude toward their mother, but there is no problem in determining the denotative meaning of this object. We are aware that lots of words have more than one denotative meaning, for example the word ‘table’. The context provides the respondent with cues whether we are referring to a piece of furniture or the tables that can be found in this thesis.

In case of social groups, respondents may use different ways of categorizing people, i.e. attach different denotative meanings to the attitude object. Consider the attitude object ‘asylum seekers’. This social group has been the topic of a study by Van den Berg and Carabain (2003). Their study showed that respondents framed the attitude object ‘asylum seeker’ in a multitude of ways. For example, a

Netherlands (CBS, Statistics Netherlands). However, in public debate the term ‘allochtonen’ is mainly used to refer to non-western inhabitants of The Netherlands.

substantial group of respondents consistently made a distinction between ‘political refugees’ and ‘economical refugees’. For these respondents, the first basic assumption of traditional attitude research does not hold. Since, these respondents do not attach one univocal denotative meaning to the attitude object ‘asylum seekers’. As a consequence, these respondents do not have one attitude toward the attitude object ‘asylum seekers’. Instead, they have one attitude toward political refugees and another attitude toward economical refugees.

When respondents do not attach one univocal denotative meaning to the attitude object, this could also influence their answer behavior to closed questions. After all, what happens when you do not attach a univocal denotative meaning to the attitude object? For example, respondents may answer all closed questions thinking of just one subgroup of asylum seekers, e.g. economical refugees. Another possibility is that respondents will switch between subgroups of asylum seekers based on the topic of the question. For example, in case of responding to the question: “Asylum seekers take advantage of Dutch society”; the respondent could think of economical refugees, while if the question focuses on political issues they could use their frame of political refugees. Respondents could also average their attitudes toward the subgroups when they are asked closed questions about their attitude toward asylum seekers in order to select an answer alternative.

The third assumption concerns consensus among respondents about the denotative meaning of an attitude object. Consensus is independent from univocalness. For one could talk about consensus if respondents attach the same denotative meaning to the attitude object, regardless of whether or not this denotative meaning is univocal. For example, consider again the attitude object ‘asylum seekers’. Now if the vast majority of the respondents make the same distinction between two similar subgroups of asylum seekers, then we will speak of consensus regardless of the non-univocal meaning respondents have about the attitude object ‘asylum seekers’. However, in the case of asylum seekers, there was a remarkable lack of consensus: Respondents framed ‘asylum seekers’ in terms of political and economic refugees, while other respondents equated asylum seekers with illegal immigrants and some respondents framed ‘asylum seekers’ foreigners in general. Finally, there seem to be no problems when the first and the third assumption hold to measure the evaluations of respondents toward these attitude objects.

To conclude, the classical studies on question wording, as well as more recent studies, were an inspiration for this study and made us eager to find out in which situations the basic assumptions of attitude research hold.

1.2 OVERVIEW OF THIS THESIS

In chapter two, we present three different theoretical approaches to attitudes and attitude structures. These approaches are the classical three-component approach (e.g., Rosenberg and Hovland, 1960), the expectancy value approach (Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975) and the modern three-component approach (Eagly and Chaiken, 1993). Next to these three approaches that stem from social psychology, we will also introduce the view of discursive psychology on measuring attitudes by means of survey interviews.

In chapter three, we present our research questions and the design of the study. This includes the claims made about open questions and the possibilities of combining open and closed questions to get insight into the basic assumptions of attitude research. Social psychologists mainly use closed questions to measure attitudes, because they want to compare the attitudes of respondents or groups of respondents. In this thesis we do not compare the attitudes of respondents or groups of respondents. Instead, we want to gain insight into the structure of attitudes and the conditions under which the basic assumptions of attitude research will hold.

The most important feature of open questions is that they ask respondents to answer in their own words, whereas when answering closed questions respondents are asked to pick one answer alternative (e.g., Foddy, 1993). This difference between open and closed questions has consequences for: 1) the freedom the respondent has when answering questions, 2) the insight in the frame of reference it can provide researchers with, 3) the type of data collected, and 4) the analysis of the data. Combining open and closed questions may be the best of both worlds and we expect that the combination of the two question formats will enable us to gain insight in the attitude structure and the frames of reference respondents have about words used in the questions. In this chapter we also present our main hypotheses.

In chapter four, we present the results of our pilot study. We conduct this pilot study to check whether combining the answers to open and closed questions will enable us to answer our research question with regard to the basic assumptions of attitude research. In this pilot study we combine the answers to open and to closed questions on attitudes toward one social group in The Netherlands, that is, Muslims. We end this chapter by introducing a complementary hypothesis that is based on the results of this pilot study.

In chapter five, we describe the methods of the main study of this thesis. In this chapter we also present the questionnaire used in the main study. Furthermore, we describe our samples. Since we want to compare between groups who were interviewed about different topics, we also check whether the

sub samples are comparable. Finally, we introduce the development of the coding scheme of this study.

We present the results regarding the attitude structure in chapter six. We start analyzing the answers to closed questions in a way that is usual in attitude research. We check the fit of the attitude structure that the questionnaires are based on. Our questionnaire is based on the modern three-component model of Eagly and Chaiken (1993). This model includes three dimensions, i.e. cognition, affect and behavioral intentions. Later on in this chapter we present a new two-dimensional model with regard to attitudes toward social group. In this model one component includes items regarding the image respondents have toward the social group and the other component includes items about the relation between the respondents and (members of) the social group.

In chapter seven, we use the answers to open questions to check the new attitude model regarding attitudes toward social groups. Thus, we check if respondents also make the distinction between the images they have of the social group and how they relate themselves to (members of) the social group while answering open questions. We also use the answers to the open questions to gain insight into the differences we found in the confirmatory factor analysis regarding the strength of the correlations between the two factors depending on the topic of the questionnaire.

In chapter eight, we use the answers to open questions to gain insight into the basic assumptions of attitude research. We report our findings with regards to the univocalness of the denotative meaning of the attitude objects and the degree of consensus among respondents about the denotative meaning of the attitude objects. In addition, we present the results regarding the effects of the attachment of non-univocal denotative meanings to the attitude object on the answers to closed questions. We end this chapter by presenting two examples of operational problems. In one example we also show the large impact this can have on the interpretation of the answers to questions.

In chapter nine, we present the conclusions of this thesis. We also give attention to the possibilities and limitations of using open and closed questions in large-scale attitude research. We end this chapter by presenting recommendations for attitude research.

CHAPTER 2. ATTITUDE RESEARCH AND ITS ASSUMPTIONS

The famous social psychologist Gordon Allport stated already in the thirties of the preceding century that the concept of attitudes is one of the most important concepts in contemporary American social psychology (1935). Now, more than seventy years later, this statement is as true as it was at that time, and not only for contemporary American social psychology, but for social psychology in general.

Attitude researchers have treated almost all thinkable entities as attitude objects. Attitude research includes studies of attitudes toward: 1) concrete objects, such as persons or products, 2) abstract concepts, such as peace or governmental policies, 3) actions, such as sexual behavior or smoking, 4) sensory perceptions such as odors or colors, and so on. Notwithstanding this large body of work on attitudes, attitude researchers tend to disagree about almost anything. However, most contemporary social psychologists seem to agree that the characteristic attribute of an attitude is its evaluative dimension. Or in other words, there is consensus that an attitude represents a summary evaluation of a psychological object in terms of favor or disfavor (e.g., Ajzen & Fishbein, 2000; Eagly & Chaiken, 1993).

In this thesis, we will use the conceptual definition as posed by Eagly and Chaiken (1993, p.1): *“An attitude is a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor”*. In this definition, the term “psychological tendency” refers to an internal, mental state of a person and “evaluating” bears reference to different types of evaluative responding. These evaluative responses may include overt and covert responses that can be of cognitive, conative or affective nature. In this study we focus on social attitudes. We define a social attitude as follows: A social attitude is an attitude toward a social group. We use the term social group to refer to an aggregate of individuals that is conceived by the holder of the attitude as a distinctive entity. The underlying assumption here is that people have mental representations of social groups.

2.1 THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES REGARDING ATTITUDES

Although a wide variety of perspectives can be distinguished with regard to attitudes, in this thesis we distinguish and describe three theoretical perspectives on attitudes, namely the classical three-component approach (e.g. Rosenberg & Hovland, 1960), the expectancy-value approach (e.g., Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975) and the modern three-components approach (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993).

2.1.1 THE CLASSICAL THREE-COMPONENT APPROACH

The oldest approach with regard to attitudes is what we will refer to as the classical three-component approach (see figure 2.1.1). According to this approach, an attitude is defined as a single entity containing three components, namely a cognitive, an affective and a conative (or behavioral) component (e.g. Rosenberg & Hovland, 1960). This model can be described as a stimulus-response model.

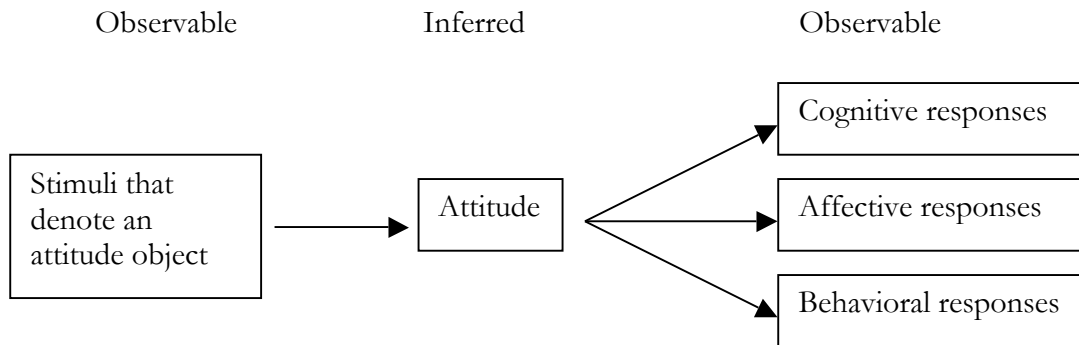


Figure 2.1.1 Attitude as an implicit condition with three evaluative observable dimensions, namely cognitive, affective and conative responses (Rosenberg & Hovland, 1960).

The distinction between thoughts, feelings and behavior as separate but related components of an attitude has a long history. Already in classical philosophy, Plato distinguished between feeling, acting and knowing as the three components of human experience (see for example, McGuire, 1989). This three-component model of attitudes views cognition, affect and conation as parallel effects of an attitude. Most researchers who use this concept of attitudes believe that attitudes induce a consistency or correspondence of responses. Positive attitudes result in positive thoughts, feelings and behaviors toward an attitude object, whereas negative attitudes produce the opposite, i.e., negative responses.

2.1.1.1 THREE TYPES OF RESPONSES

In this section, we will deal with the distinction between verbal and nonverbal responses of a cognitive, affective and conative kind (Rosenberg & Hovland, 1960) as conceived by the classical three-component model.

COGNITIVE RESPONSES

Cognitive responses reflect thoughts and ideas people have with regard to the attitude-object. Think about attitudes toward ‘gypsies’. For example, the mental object ‘gypsies’ can be linked with the belief that “gypsies contribute to the cultural enrichment of Dutch society”. This statement is an expression indicating positive thoughts toward gypsies. In contrast, the statement “Gypsies engage in criminal activities” is an expression that indicates negative thoughts toward gypsies.

Nonverbal cognitive responses are difficult to assess and they are also more indirect responses, given the cognitive nature. Ajzen (1989) argues that we might infer the cognitive aspect of attitudes by the measurement of how long it takes a person to appreciate the significance of cartoons portraying the attitude object in a favorable or unfavorable light. The underlying assumption here is that if respondents are confronted with a cartoon that is in accordance with how they think about the attitude object that they have lower thresholds for the perception of those cartoons than if these cartoons are portraying situations that are in contrast with their thoughts.

AFFECTIVE RESPONSES

The second type of responses consists of expressions of feelings toward the attitude-object. Again, consider the measurements of attitudes toward gypsies. Verbal responses of an affective nature are for example, “I admire gypsies” indicating a positive feeling toward this social group. On the contrary, the expression “The behavior of gypsies on the streets annoys me” indicates a negative affective response toward gypsies.

All types of physiological and bodily reactions, such as facial expressions or constriction and dilation of the pupil, can be used to measure nonverbal affective responses. For example, one can show respondents photographs of gypsies in particular settings and measure the facial expressions of respondents, such as expressions indicating delight or disgust.

CONATIVE RESPONSES

The last type of responses concerns conative responses. Conative responses are defined as behavioral tendencies and intentions people have with respect to the attitude-object. These conative responses are measured by means of what people say about how they will act. For example, “I can live in a neighborhood where gypsies are in the majority” or “I can be friends with gypsies” are expressions of a positive behavioral intention toward gypsies. Whereas, “When I see a group of gypsies on the street, I

always cross the streets” is an example of a conative expression indicating a negative behavioral intention toward gypsies.

Nonverbal expressions of a conative nature are behaviors toward the attitude object. Again, consider the measurement of attitudes toward gypsies. People who have friends that are gypsies can then be considered as behaving positively toward gypsies. In contrast, people who organize a demonstration to avoid gypsies settling in their neighborhood can be considered as behaving negatively toward gypsies.

Notwithstanding the distinction between verbal and nonverbal expressions of the three components of attitudes, it is common practice in large-scale attitude research to focus on verbal measurements of attitudes. Nonverbal expressions of attitudes are part of experimental social psychology and these measurements are primarily conducted in a laboratory setting (see for example Fazio et al., 1986).

2.1.1.2 EMPIRICAL STUDIES ON THE CLASSICAL THREE-COMPONENT MODEL

In this section, we will describe a few studies that were conducted in the tradition of the classical three-component approach. These studies focus on the validation of the general model, that is to say they are focused on the question whether attitudes really consist of these three components (e.g. Breckler, 1984).

The classical three-component approach assumes that there is some consistency between the three components, given that the three components reflect evaluations of the same underlying attitude. The correlations between the three types of responses need to be at least substantial. However, the correlations between the three dimensions should not be perfect. After all, if the dimensions correlate very high, it seems superfluous to assume the existence of three distinct components. On the other hand, if there is little or no consistency it does not seem reasonable to accept that the three components are part of the same concept.

Different scholars have tried to test the classical three-component model. One of the earlier scholars was Thomas Ostrom (1969). He used a multitrait-multimethod matrix procedure (Campbell & Fiske, 1959) to test the assumption that attitudes have affective, behavioral and cognitive components. Or in more technical terms, he assessed the convergent and divergent validity of this model. The topic of his study was attitudes toward the church. He used verbal and nonverbal measures for the assessment of the three components. Indices of overt behavior were compared with verbal measures of the affective, cognitive and conative component. For the assessment of each of the three components, he used the methods of Thurnstone’s equal-appearing intervals (Thurnstone & Chave, 1929), summated

ratings (Likert, 1932); scalogram analysis (Guttman, 1944) and the self-rating scale (Guilford, 1954). His main hypotheses were supported in this study. Thus, respondents show greater consistency of responses to attitude items measuring the same component than items measuring the different components. Also, the correspondence between the verbal and nonverbal measures was the highest when they both were assumed to measure the same attitude component. However, the most striking result of this study concerns the high intercorrelations between the three components with the uniqueness of each component contributing very little additional variance. Ostrom argued that this result could be due to the homogeneous nature of attitudes toward the church at that time, and the relatively homogenous social background of the research population. This population solely consisted of under-graduates of Ohio State University.

Another important study is the study by Kothandapani (1971) about attitudes toward birth control. He also used Campbell and Fiske's multitrait-multimethod matrix procedure (1959). He used the same verbal measures as in the earlier mentioned study of Ostrom (1969). An index of contraceptive behavior was obtained by the self-report of respondents. He tried to validate this self-report by reliable peer reports and information about receipt of free birth control supplies. He also found that evaluative responses within each component share a set of determinants, distinct from those for other components. This result is in contrast with Ostrom's study (1969). He found low magnitude of the contribution of each of the components, separately, to the explained variance. Kothandapani (1971) argues that the different outcome might be due to a more heterogeneous population and a more controversial attitude object. Another interesting result of this study is that it shows that the usual Likert method is only moderately sensitive in discriminating the cognitions, affects and behavioral intentions.

Bagozzi (1978) reanalyzed the datasets of the previous two studies with an early version of the LISREL program (Joreskog & van Thillo, 1972). In the case of Ostrom's data, Bagozzi came to the same conclusion as Ostrom. Discriminant validity was shown, but very little unique variance was associated with each of the three components. However, Bagozzi's conclusions did not match Kothandapani's conclusions after reanalyzing Kothandapani's data. Bagozzi did not find support for the discriminant validity of the three-component model. Bagozzi argues that the different outcomes are due to the fact that Bagozzi used the more rigorous analysis of covariance structures.

The last study we are going to describe is a study by Breckler (1984). He also performed an empirical validation of the three-component model. In this paper, he argues that five conditions should be met for making a strong test of the validity of the three-component model. These conditions are: 1) the attitude should be measured by both verbal and nonverbal measures; 2) independent measures of

affect, behavior and cognition must take the form of a response to a physically present attitude object; 3) multiple, independent measurements of affect, behavior and cognition need to be made; 4) a confirmatory approach of validation need to be used and 5) all measures must be scaled on a common evaluative continuum. His research includes two studies about the attitude toward snakes. In the first study the snake was physically present and in the second study it was not. He used multiple measures of all three components in both studies. In the first study both verbal and nonverbal measures were used and in the second study only verbal measures were used. The results of the studies indicate that the two most important validating conditions were: 1) the use of nonverbal measures of affect and behavior and 2) the physical presence of the attitude object. The results from the first study indicate a good fit of the classical three-component model and also moderate correlations between the three components. The results from the second study indicate higher inter-component correlations than in the first study. We consider Breckler's finding that the physical presence of the attitude object influences the fit of the model very interesting. He argues that when the attitude object is physically present it is more likely that the responses are not controlled cognitively. We argue that an alternative explanation may also be plausible. After all if the attitude object is physically present, respondents have a univocal image of the attitude object under investigation and there is consensus among respondent of the denotative meaning of the attitude object. Thus, in the other case, when we present the word 'snake', respondents may attach different denotative meanings to the attitude object. For example, they may use broad or small definitions of the attitude object 'snake'.

In general, we could state that most of the results reported in this type of literature are more or less consistent with the classical three-component model. However, very often a single factor is found to account for much of the variance in attitudinal responses, and the correlations between the three components, although leaving room for some unique variance for each of the components separately, are typically of considerable magnitude. The studies also indicate that if attitudes are solely measured by verbal measures then the inter-component correlations are even higher. We consider this last result very interesting because this result could indicate that inter-component correlations are partly due to mode-effects.

The classical three-component approach leads one easily to expect that attitudes of people are positively correlated with the evaluative implications of their overt behaviors. After all, behavior could be viewed as one of the three responses of an attitude. So, we expect people who have a positive attitude toward an attitude object, for example gypsies, to engage in behaviors that approach or support gypsies. In

contrast, people with a negative attitude are expected to engage in behaviors that avoid or oppose gypsies. The problem here is that as early as the 1930's empirical studies already suggest weak relations between attitudes and behavior (for example, LaPiere, 1934). The first findings did not catch the attention they deserved among social psychologists. It took a psychologist, namely Allan W. Wicker (1969), to grab the attention of the social psychologists engaging in attitude research. His classical article holds a review of the empirical research on the attitude-behavior relationship. He argued that it is more feasible that attitudes are unrelated or weakly related to overt behavior. This discussion led to a new approach toward attitudes in the 1970's. We will describe this new approach in the next section.

2.1.2 THE EXPECTANCY-VALUE APPROACH

The expectancy-value approach emphasizes the overall evaluative aspects of attitudes. The most important representatives of this approach are Fishbein and Ajzen (Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975; Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980). The expectancy-value model is part of their theory of reasoned action.

Fishbein and Ajzen (1975) describe an attitude in terms of a multi-attribute structure. They describe this structure by an equation relating beliefs to attitudes (1975, p.29):

$$A_o = \sum_{i=1}^n b_i e_i$$

in which A_o is the attitude toward a given object O ; b_i is belief i about attitude object O (that is the subjective association or disassociation of attitude object O with attribute i); e_i is the evaluation of attribute i ; and n is the number of different beliefs. For example, consider the following assertion on behalf of the measurement of attitudes toward gypsies: "Gypsies remain aloof from Dutch society". The formula mentioned earlier implies that we not only have to gauge to what extent people agree or disagree with this assertion, but we also have to assess how negative they actually consider the act of remaining aloof from Dutch society is.

Fishbein and Ajzen (1975, p.6) describe an attitude as "a learned predisposition to respond in a consistently favorable or unfavorable way with respect to a given object". They also argue that the term 'attitude' is best used for the evaluative component. They argue that this component entails a person's positive and negative evaluations regarding the attitude-object. In their theory of reasoned action, Fishbein and Ajzen (1975) use the various components in a causal chain model to predict behavior

toward an attitude-object. The prediction of behavior with regard to the attitude-object is beyond the subject of this thesis and we will therefore not elaborate on these elements.

Their view differs from the classical three-component approach in that they consider cognitions as basic for attitudes (see figure 2.1.2). First, they equate ‘affect’ with the evaluative component of an attitude. Second, they view conations as a consequence of attitudes. In contrast, the three-component approach of attitudes considers cognitions, affect and conation as components of an attitude. The aim of the model of Ajzen and Fishbein (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975; Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980) is to predict behavior. In contrast, behavior is one of the operationalizations of an attitude in the three-component approach.

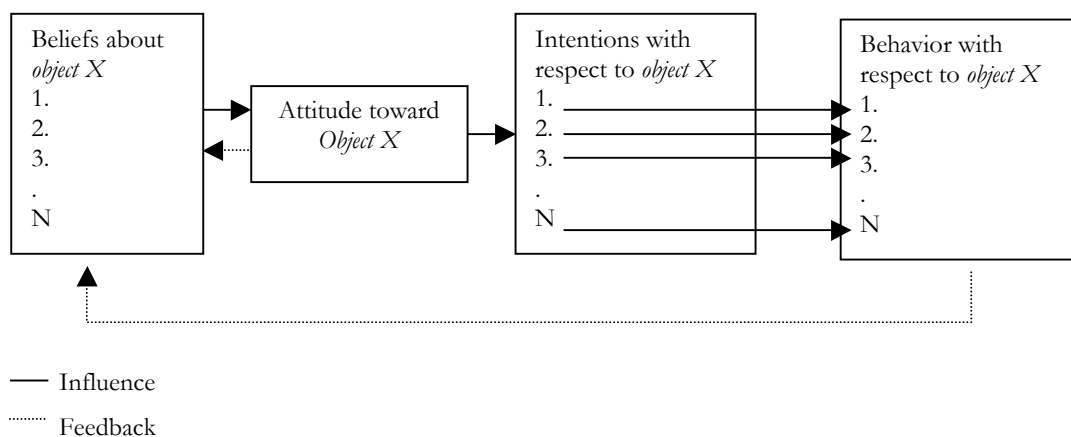


Figure 2.1.2. Schematic representation of the conceptual framework of beliefs, attitudes, behavioral intentions and behavior (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975).

Another important difference between the classical three-component approach and Ajzen and Fishbein relates to the definition of cognitions. In the classical three-component approach cognitions contain thoughts and ideas about the attitude object, whereas Ajzen and Fishbein (1980) reserve this category for the subjective probability that an attitude object is related to an attribute.

In essence, Fishbein and Ajzen (1975) consider human beings as rational organisms, who use available information to judge, to evaluate and to make decisions. They emphasize that although a person can have various, not necessarily related, beliefs with regard to an attitude object, these various beliefs constitute the basis of a person’s attitude. As a consequence, the affective responses disappeared as a specific component that can be distinguished from cognitively based evaluative responses.

Up until now the expectancy-value approach is the dominant approach in attitude research. However, the model as developed by Ajzen and Fishbein (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975; Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980) is hardly used in large-scale attitude research in the way it is meant to be. Researchers usually only gauge to what extent respondents agree with statements about the attitude object, and they do not measure how negative or positive respondents consider the given statement. Still, the general theoretical approach of this model is functioning as a background assumption in the majority of large-scale attitude research.

2.1.2.1 EMPIRICAL STUDIES ON THE EXPECTANCY-VALUE MODEL

Several studies have been conducted on the assumption that attitudes are determined by the evaluative content of the beliefs a person has (e.g. Fishbein, 1963; Smith & Clark, 1973). In these types of studies scholars assess attitudes by relatively direct measures. Fishbein (1963) and Smith and Clark (1973) assess attitudes by the semantic differential (Osgood et al., 1957). Cronen and Conville (1975) assess attitudes using a single-item self-report of favorability toward the attitude object. These scholars gauge beliefs by asking respondents to assign probabilities and evaluations to beliefs that are generated by pre-tests. These studies tend to find moderately high correlations between attitudes and beliefs (see for example Fishbein & Coombs, 1974), but also some investigators have found relatively low correlations (Eagly & Mladinic, 1989). Eagly and Chaiken (1993) argue that these low correlations may be an indicator of the noncognitive determination of these attitudes. They emphasize that attitudes are also a product of affective and behavioral processes. We will elaborate on their approach in the next section.

2.1.3 THE MODERN THREE-COMPONENT APPROACH

In the early nineties, the three-component approach experienced a revival under the command of Eagly and Chaiken (1993) in their book “The Psychology of Attitudes”. They embraced the idea of the classical three-component approach that an attitude indeed consists of three different components. Eagly and Chaiken agree with the classical approach in that they also state that an attitude is associated with cognitive, affective and behavioral responses with regard to the attitude object and that these responses arise from cognitive, affective and behavioral processes (see figure 2.1.3).

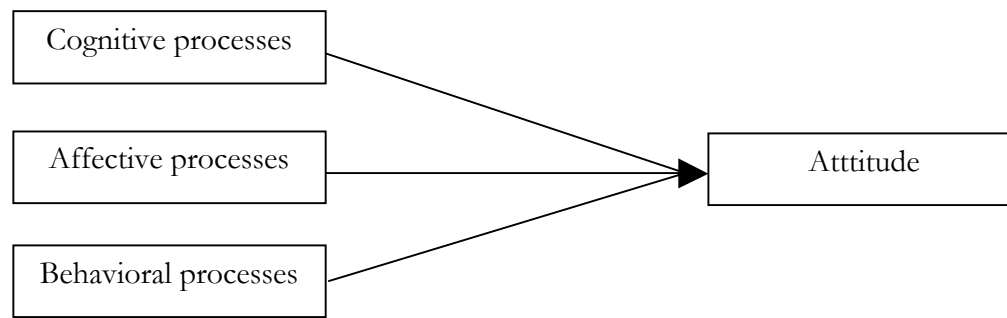


Figure 2.1.3 Attitude as a product of cognitive, affective, and behavioral processes (Eagly and Chaiken, 1993).

However, they distance themselves from the idea of the classical three-component approach with the concept that an attitude does not always include all three components. They state that an attitude also can be based on only one or two of the three components. For example, people can develop an attitude about an object solely by reading about that object. Other attitudes can be based on affective or behavioral processes or on all three processes. Zanna and Rempel (1988) argue that when people have direct contact with the attitude-object it is more plausible that more than one process plays a part in the evaluation of the attitude-object.

A related difference between the classical and modern three-component approach is the way in which inconsistencies between the affective, cognitive and behavioral component are approached. Eagly and Chaiken (1993) acknowledge the possibility that these inconsistencies may occur and that when these inconsistencies occur the solution has to be found in attitude structures with more than one dimension.

The most important difference between the approach of Eagly and Chaiken (1993) and the approach of Fishbein and Ajzen (1975) concerns the definition of affect. Eagly and Chaiken (1993) consider feelings and emotions with regard to the attitude-object as a separate component. Whereas Fishbein and Ajzen (1975) consider affect just as positive or negative evaluations with regard to the attitude-object. In general, we could state that Fishbein and Ajzen (1975) focus more on cognitions than Eagly and Chaiken (1993).

2.1.3.1 EMPIRICAL STUDIES ON THE MODERN THREE-COMPONENT MODEL

Empirical studies on the modern three-component model focus on finding the component that is most predictive for attitudes (see also Haddock et al., 1993)². In The Netherlands, Verkuyten (1997) conducted a study on the structure of ethnic attitudes. He assessed the attitudes of ethnically Dutch adolescents toward three ethnic minority groups in The Netherlands. Those three ethnic target groups were Turks, Surinamese, and Chinese. He chose the first two groups because they represent the two largest minority groups in The Netherlands and live mainly in the western region of the country, but they differ in their position in the ethnic hierarchy (see Hagendoorn, 1995). He chose the Chinese because they do not live in a specific region of The Netherlands; they are less distinct and salient in Dutch society and are perceived as less of a threat by ethnically Dutch people.

To predict the attitudes toward the ethnic groups, he assessed cognitions (stereotypes, ethnic beliefs), affections and the tendency to social interaction. He found that the component that was the most predictive of ethnic attitudes differed across target groups, situations and individuals. In general, he argues that a multi-component model of attitudes enabled him to explain a considerable amount of variance, suggesting that this model provides a more complete representation of attitudes as compared with models that stress the importance of one of the components. In our view, this model is more nuanced than the model of Fishbein and Ajzen and that is the main reason for us to choose this model of attitude structure. This also means that we will use the terminology of Eagly and Chaiken (1993) in this thesis.

2.2 THE ATTITUDE OBJECT

In the previous section, we discussed the differences between the three approaches of attitudes. However, the basic assumptions underlying attitude research with regard to the attitude object seem to be something that is not included in the studies and the discussions. The different approaches share three crucial assumptions, which are: 1) people have a mental (not directly observable) representation of the attitude-object; 2) it is possible to measure evaluations with regard to these mental representations by verbal or nonverbal means; and 3) the mental presentations are comparable between people.

² The problem with the study of Verkuyten (1997) and Haddock et al. (1993) is the measurement of the 'general' attitude because this concerns a latent (not directly observable) construct. In order to assess the predictive power of the distinguished components, an independent measure of the overall attitude has to be constructed. In both studies an evaluation thermometer, adapted from the 'feeling thermometer' (e.g. Campbell, 1971) is used to measure respondents' general impression of the attitude-object. The question arises if this is a valid instrument to measure a 'general' attitude.

These assumptions neglect the possibilities of differences between individual interpretations of the attitude object. This is quite amazing since attitude objects can differ enormously with regard to their denotative meaning. McGuire (1989) describes attitude-objects as topics of meaning, and he argues that these are any mental entities about which people can make a judgment on at least one dimension. He argues that these topics of meaning can be relatively concrete (e.g. mother or son) while other topics are complex in being aggregates (e.g. immigrants) or abstractions (e.g. freedom) or involve even more complex syntactical relationships. We already mentioned that the implicit assumption of any attitude research is that its research subjects have comparable and more or less unambiguous definitions of the attitude object. This seems a feasible assumption if the attitude object is relatively concrete, but seems harder to hold on to when the attitude object is more complex, for example, being aggregates. Anyway, the validity of these assumptions is seldom self-evident. Therefore it seems quite astounding that in traditional attitude research, the variety of ways in which people define the attitude objects, and the effects of this variety on the underlying assumptions, is seldom object of reflection.

Traditional attitude research seems to have a blind spot for the problem we described above with regard to the attitude object. We found an alternative approach regarding attitudes in discursive psychology (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). We will elaborate on this approach in the next section.

2.3 DISCURSIVE PSYCHOLOGY

In social psychology, as well as in other social sciences, the interview is treated as an instrument for developing the empirical foundations of social scientific knowledge (Van den Berg et al., 2003). Survey interviews are often considered as a tunnel to the mind of the respondent. The same goes for qualitative interviews, although qualitative researchers pretend that they go further than the survey interview in terms of assessing a deeper or more essential reality. Still a crucial assumption that both types of interviews share is that they enable researchers to make inferences beyond the specific context of those interviews. Researchers who demonstrated the constructed nature of interview data have contested the view in which an interview is seen as an instrument for empirical research (e.g. Cicourel, 1964; Houtkoop-Steenstra, 2000). They argue that interview data should be interpreted in its specific social context in which answers are locally constructed. So instead of using the interview as an instrument, in this approach the interview itself is the topic of the study. This focus on language use in social interaction is one of the main characteristics of discursive psychology.

Discursive psychology studies the relation between mind and world, just like psychology in general does. However, it differs from most other psychological approaches in a way that the interactionally constructed discourse in conversations or in interviews is the topic of the studies (Edwards, 2003). In other words, discursive psychology focuses on language. It focuses not only on language in an interview setting but also on language in a natural setting, such as the study of daily conversation. Since the discourse is the topic of those studies, discursive psychologists are more likely to use open questions or natural conversations to gauge how people develop opinions and/or attitudes in social interaction (Potter & Whetherel, 1987) rather than closed questions. Next, we are going to elaborate on what we consider valuable insights of discursive psychology with regard to attitude research.

THE TREATMENT OF VERBAL BEHAVIOR AS CONTEXT DEPENDENT SOCIAL BEHAVIOR

Discursive psychologists consider answers of respondents as social behavior (Edwards & Potter, 1992). They do not consider respondent's answers as verbal expressions of underlying more or less stable mental representations or dispositions. Discursive psychologists consider an interview as a social event. In general they argue that instead of studying and making inferences about assumed mental representations and dispositions, scholars should limit themselves to studying the answers people give in social interaction. In other words, they make inferences about the way responses to attitude-objects in social interaction come about, and consider talking as strategic behavior. Fishbein and Ajzen (1975) also argue that answering questions could be considered as behavior. However, they state that this is usually (as in social psychological research) not considered as such. Instead answers to questions are used to make inferences about attitudes, beliefs and behavioral intentions.

INCONSISTENCY OF ANSWERS OF RESPONDENTS

Often people make inconsistent statements about a given attitude-object. In those cases, social psychologists try to explain the variance and discrepancies in answer behavior as the product of more complex multi-dimensional attitude structures (see for example, McConahay, 1985) or attitude ambivalence. However, these more complex attitude structures do not always satisfy as a solution. Therefore, inconsistencies are often 'solved' by removing items from scales. Discursive psychologists try to explain these inconsistencies by the context in which the answers are made. Discursive psychology considers variance and contradictions in answers of respondents as differences in 'frames'

used by the respondents. In contrast, social psychologists consider variance and contradictions as threats to the reliability of their study.

INCOMPARABILITY OF RESPONDENTS

Social psychologists implicitly assume that all respondents interpret the terms used in the questions and the answer categories in the same way. For example, McGuire (1985) states that when respondents express attitudes, they give responses that locate 'objects of thought' on 'dimensions of judgment'. Given this definition, if social psychologists compare the attitudes of respondents, they assume that there are no differences between respondents on how respondents define the objects of thought and the dimensions of judgment. After all, if the objects of thought and/or the dimension of judgment are not similar, the comparison of answers of various respondents or categories of respondents cannot be done in a straightforward manner. In other words, if the frames of reference differ between (categories of) respondents, any comparison seems invalid. We would then be comparing apples and oranges. One could state, that in traditional attitude research the answers are interpreted on the basis of the assumptions that the frame of reference of the researcher equals that of all respondents and that for discursive psychologists the frame of reference of the respondents itself is the object of their study. In other words, the ways in which respondents frame attitude objects may vary and may be at odds with the researchers' framing of the attitude object.

To summarize, we could state that in discursive psychology, responses are always considered as context dependent social behavior. Therefore, discursive psychology does not expect that responses are consistent and stable with respect to time, place and other characteristics of the social context. This approach could easily lead to the conclusion that it makes no sense to search for stable patterns in response behavior. In contrast with this vision, we do expect that under certain conditions there may be a certain amount of stability in attitudes. However, we argue that discursive psychology does provide us with some valuable insights with regard to studying attitudes. These insights hardly receive any attention in the traditional methodology of attitude research.

CHAPTER 3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND DESIGN

In this thesis, we will use the insights from discursive psychology to study the frames of reference respondents have with regard to the attitude-object. We argue that the underlying assumptions in traditional attitude research using closed questions to measure attitudes are: 1) respondents have a univocal mental representation of the attitude objects as a distinct entity; 2) it is possible to measure evaluations regarding these representations; and 3) respondents assign the same denotative meaning to this attitude object as presented in the questionnaire. Our main research question is:

Under which conditions do the basic assumptions of attitude research hold?

We argue that if we want insight into these conditions we have to study the frames of reference respondents have about the attitude object. Firstly, we argue that if respondents attach a univocal denotative meaning to a group the first assumption of traditional attitude research holds. Secondly, the third assumption holds if there is consensus among respondents about the univocal denotative meaning. Finally, if the first and the third assumption hold there seems to be no problem measuring evaluations toward the attitude object or respondents or groups of respondents (assumption 2).

To be able to answer our main research question, we will ask respondents both open and closed questions about one specific kind of attitudes, that is, social attitudes. We ask a broad, heterogeneous research population these open and closed questions, and we study the attitudes toward three different social groups, namely: Moroccan youths, Muslims and allochtonen. The reason why we choose these three social groups is that they are similar in one respect, that is, these groups are all prominent in the Dutch media regarding the public debate about immigration and integration in The Netherlands. However, we expect that these three social groups differ in two aspects essential for this study: 1) the denotative meaning that respondents assign to the group and 2) the consensus among respondents regarding this denotative meaning of the group.

We expect that respondents attach one univocal denotative meaning to Moroccan youths and that there will be consensus among respondents about this denotative meaning (see table 3.1). These expectations are based on the fact that in the Dutch media Moroccan youths are often presented in relation with social problems and criminal behavior without differentiation of this group. The fact that these problems concentrate on a small portion of these youngsters hardly comes to the fore, and the

people who draw attention to this fact are often considered as underestimating the seriousness of these problems.

Table 3.1 *Univocalness and consensus about the attitude objects.*

	Univocalness of the attitude object	Consensus
Moroccan youths	+	+
Muslims	-	+
Allochtonen	-	-

Regarding Muslims, we expect that respondents do not attach one univocal denotative meaning to this group, but we expect that there will be consensus among respondents about this non-univocal denotative meaning. This last expectation is based on the fact that generally Muslims are situated in two different contexts in the media. On the one hand, there is religion and related issues such as equality between man and woman, homosexuality, the Western sexual moral, but also the way women dress. On the other hand, the group is also associated with religious fundamentalism and terrorism in the name of religion. So, we do not expect that respondents attach one univocal denotative meaning to this group, but there will be consensus among respondents about the non-univocal denotative meaning.

Finally, the last attitude object to be studied is ‘allochtonen’. In public debate the term ‘allochtonen’ is used to refer to all kinds of immigrants and their descendants. For example, this term could refer to Turkish, Moroccan or Chinese immigrants, but also to immigrants from Western Europe. Because of this variety we expect it to be unlikely that respondents are not very likely to attach one univocal denotative meaning to this group and there is hardly any consensus among respondents about these different meanings.

Following this line of reasoning, we also expect that respondents are less likely to express mixed feelings toward the social group when they are interviewed about Moroccan youths than when they are interviewed about Muslims and allochtonen. We consider respondents expressing ‘mixed feelings’ if they expressed a combination of positive, neutral, and negative feelings about the social group under investigation.

The expectations enable us to formulate the following hypotheses:

- 1a. Respondents who are talking about Moroccan youths are more likely to attach one univocal denotative meaning to this group than respondents who are talking about Muslims.
- 1b. Respondents who are talking about Moroccan youths are more likely to attach one univocal denotative meaning to this group than respondents who are talking about allochtonen.
- 1c. Respondents who express feelings toward Moroccan youths are less likely to express mixed feelings than respondents who express feelings toward Muslims.
- 1d. Respondents who express feelings toward Moroccan youths are less likely to express mixed feelings than respondent who express feelings toward allochtonen.

- 2a. It is less likely that there is consensus among respondents about the denotative meaning of the attitude object 'allochtonen' than about the denotative meaning of the attitude object 'Muslims'.
- 2b. It is less likely that there is consensus among respondents about the denotative meaning of the attitude object 'allochtonen' than about the denotative meaning of the attitude object 'Moroccan youths'.

With regard to attitude structure, we test the three-component structure as conceptualized by Eagly and Chaiken (1993). Our second research question is:

What are the main components of the attitude-structure?

Our third hypothesis is:

- 3. A social attitude consists of three components namely a cognitive, an affective and a behavioral intentional component.

To answer these two research questions and to test our hypotheses we will analyze and combine respondents' answers to open and closed questions with regard to their attitudes toward the three social

groups selected for this study. That is why we now will elaborate on the possibilities and limitations of open and closed questions as methods to get information essential for the answering of our research questions.

3.1 DESIGN OF THE STUDY

As stated above, in this study we will combine the answers of respondents to open and closed questions to gain insight into: 1) the main components of the attitude structure; and 2) under which conditions the basic assumptions in attitude-research hold. We have the following reasons to combine these two question formats. First, in attitude research it is common practice to measure attitudes by using questionnaires with closed questions. Specifically, the predominant question format in these questionnaires is assertions followed by a Likert scale (Likert, 1932). The main reasons for using this format are: 1) the efficiency of data processing, and 2) the possibilities to compare answers of (categories of) respondents easily. We will use the answers to the closed questions to test our third hypothesis regarding the structure of attitudes. However, the use of assertions assumes consensus and univocalness with respect to the denotative meaning of the attitude object. Therefore, the question that rises is: “How to acquire the information necessary to test these assumptions?” We will use the answers to the open questions to test our first and second hypotheses, thus to get insight into (consensus about) the denotative meaning respondents assign to the attitude object. In this subsection we will discuss the types of open and closed questions (3.1.1) and later we will discuss some claims that are made about open questions and closed questions (3.1.2) that we consider relevant for answering our research question. Finally, we will discuss some relevant aspects of the data collected by means of closed questions, and data collected by means of open questions.

3.1.1 TYPES OF OPEN AND CLOSED QUESTIONS

Although in this thesis the terms ‘open questions’ and ‘closed questions’ are used as opposites, the differences between open and closed questions are not as black-and-white as often assumed. In this thesis, we consider an open question as a question that does not offer or imply a limited set of answer alternatives and a closed question as a question that offers or implies a limited set of answer alternatives.

The main feature of an open question is that it leaves the respondents free to answer in their own words. Whereas a closed question restricts respondents in the way they have to respond, in terms

of given answer alternatives (e.g. Foddy, 1993). Although all open questions are offered without answer alternatives, they do differ with respect to the freedom respondents have in formulating their answers. For example, a question like “In the past year, how often did you become intoxicated while drinking any kind of alcoholic beverage?” is less ‘open’ than “What image comes to mind if you think of the word ‘Muslims?’” Although the first question is syntactically an open question, it implies a limited set of answer alternatives. It comes close to what Dohrenwend (1965) calls an identification question, which she considers a closed question. She stated that the crucial characteristic of an open question is that it neither states nor implies a limited set of answer alternatives like in the second example.

Van den Berg (1996, p. 12) also emphasizes that the question format is not entirely a syntactically feature. He makes a distinction between semi-open questions and open questions. He describes a semi-open question as: “a question that poses a topic plus a global frame of reference to be used by the respondent in answering the question. The question format of a semi-open question contains therefore information on the topic and on the relevant dimension.” The semi-open question leaves respondents free to choose their own scale to be used in wording their answer, whereas the open question contains only information about the topic or even only about the theme. Here respondents are free to choose both the answer dimension and the values on this dimension.

Closed questions always offer respondents answer alternatives. The task of the respondent is to choose one (or more) of the answer alternatives. Dohrenwend (1965) distinguished three types of closed questions:

1. The *selection question*: respondents have to choose one of the answer alternatives.

We distinguish two types of selection questions:

- Assertions are evaluative statements about a topic. Respondents are asked to what extent they agree or disagree with this evaluative statement.
- Multiple-choice questions are questions with substantive answer alternatives. Respondents are asked to select one of these answer alternatives.

2. The *yes-no question*: respondents provide the interviewer with an adequate answer if they answer ‘yes’ or ‘no’.
3. The *identification question*: respondents need to select a response from an implicitly finite set of responses. This type of question is typified by words such as ‘whom’, ‘when’, ‘what’, or ‘where’. An example of such a question is: “What is your age?”

This variety in open and closed questions is often neglected. Most claims about open and closed questions (see for an overview Van Holsteyn, 1994) seem to assume a simplified dichotomy between open and closed questions. Next, we discuss some claims about open questions.

3.1.2 CLAIMS ABOUT OPEN AND CLOSED QUESTIONS

In this section, we will discuss some features about open questions that we consider essential features of this question type for answering our research questions.

FREEDOM OF THE RESPONDENT

Respondents are free to formulate their answers while answering open questions, whereas with closed questions they have to pick one of the answer alternatives (Converse & Presser, 1986). In our study, it is necessary that respondents, while answering open questions, have the freedom to talk about the social groups in their own words.

With open questions, respondents are able to nuance and clarify their answers. Hochschild (1981) showed in her study on attitudes toward equality that when respondents are given the opportunity to talk, as in answering open questions, they do not make simple statements. On the contrary, they modulate, deny, retract etc. She considered these as manifestations of uncertainty. We argue that when respondents consider a social group as an aggregate of various social subgroups, respondents should be able to nuance their answers about this social group in terms of subgroups. From this viewpoint, modulating, denying, retracting etc. has nothing to do with uncertainty, but does provide us with information necessary to answer our main research question.

Kidder and Judd (1986, p. 248) argue that respondents are more motivated answering open questions, because they are allowed to bring in the fine shades of their attitudes.

FRAME OF REFERENCE

Researchers using open questions could identify respondents' frames of reference of the attitude object under investigation or their frames of reference of terms used in the questionnaire. The frame of reference of a respondent could be described as the set of key terms he uses to interpret or assign meaning to a question or an object. Respondents' frames of reference may differ from that of the researcher. If there is a difference between the frames of reference, answers to open questions may give insight into these differences. Opponents of this viewpoint argue that closed questions provide the respondent with more clues as to what kind of answer the researcher is expecting from him (Converse

& Presser, 1986; Foddy, 1993). So they argue that it is more likely that respondents use the same frame of reference as the researcher when they are provided with more clues, as in answering closed questions.

Krysan (1999) conducted an interesting methodological study on racial equality. This study shows that asking open questions can provide researchers with valuable information about the interpretation of the respondents of the closed questions. The results of her survey, which included only closed questions, indicated that U.S. citizens were becoming more liberal on the issue of residential integration but not on the topic of equal employment opportunities. She thought that this result may not be a result of shifting attitudes toward residential integration and fair employment, but could also have been the result of a discrepancy between the researchers' understanding of the questions and the respondents' understanding of the questions. In order to gain insight in these results, she later conducted a small number of qualitative interviews to talk about answers to survey items earlier given. Her results suggest that combining open and closed questions offers the possibility to detect differences between respondents and researchers in the understanding of closed questions. She argues that survey answers mean very little to us if we do not understand what they mean to respondents.

In our study, this feature of open questions is the most important reason to add open questions to our questionnaires, since this enables us to get information about the frame of reference of the respondents. This knowledge is necessary to assess the conditions under which the basic assumptions of traditional attitude-research will hold.

3.1.3 DATA GATHERED BY MEANS OF OPEN AND CLOSED QUESTIONS

The fact that respondents answering open question are requested to answer in their own words and respondents answering closed questions are asked to chose one of the answer alternatives, has a large impact on the type of data gathered by means of the two question formats. As a consequence the analysis of the data gathered by means of open questions also differs from the way data gathered by means of closed questions is analyzed.

TYPE OF DATA

Closed questions provide the researcher with different data than open questions. The researcher using open questions could get insight in what is salient in the respondent's mind. Although this claim is largely accepted among methodologists, the fundamental problem here is that researchers do not define the concept of salience clearly.

The studies on salience show that researchers used the term ‘salience’ for ‘importance to respondents’, ‘most easily remembered’ or ‘central to respondents’ thoughts at the moment’. RePass (1971, p. 391) argues that open questions permit respondents “to define [their] own space by naming issues that are salient to [them].” Kelley (1983) agrees, stating that open questions allow researchers to extract the various attitudes of the American voters. Others disagree with these arguments. They claim that open questions measure ‘superficial’ matters (Smith, 1989). Lodge et al. (1989) doubt whether one set of open questions asked by the National Election Studies (NES), the so-called like/dislike questions, accurately tap the voters’ salient attitudes about the candidates. They argue that respondents are unlikely to search their memories in enough detail to remember correctly the pieces of information that generated their overall judgment of the candidates. Smith (1989) expands on this point, writing that answers to open questions do not reveal fundamental attitudes. Instead, the responses reveal more casual likes and dislikes, such as what the respondent has read in the papers recently or heard on television or in a conversation with a friend.

Thus there seems to be disagreement to what extent open questions can give insight into saliency. However, this could also be due to the fact that the concept of salience is not clearly defined. Another problem concerning salience is that respondents may start their answer with the first thing that comes to mind. The first thing that comes to mind may not always be what respondents consider most important, which is probably the most relevant information for the researcher. They may for example avoid threatening subjects (Foddy, 1993). Also, sometimes issues could be so obvious to respondents that they do not include them in their answer, although, it may be the most relevant information for the researcher (Payne, 1951; Belson & Duncan, 1962).

We may conclude that the quality of data produced with the help of open questions is not always superior to those assembled with closed questions. The problems mentioned above are serious and often neglected in qualitative research. However, we argue that sufficient probing could be a solution to these kinds of problems regarding open questions.

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

Answers to closed questions are easier for the researcher to process and to analyze than answers to open questions. This is one of the main reasons for the common practice of attitude research in which closed questions are predominant. However, this claim presupposes that all respondents interpret the questions and answer alternatives in the same way. This may not always be the case. For example, in the case of questionnaires about social groups, it is possible that respondents do not interpret the social

group in the same way as the researcher and as a consequence this basic assumption of using closed questions does not hold. Moreover, Cantril (1944) has argued that even the meaning of the simplest word can be slippery.

In contrast with answers to closed questions, answers to open questions are not pre-coded. Thus, answers to open questions have to be coded afterwards. There are several ways to do this. Some scholars choose to develop a simple coding scheme that resembles response categories as used with closed questions. Because of this resemblance, this procedure seems to be a very ineffective and information-wasting procedure (Mishler, 1986). Other researchers decide to develop their coding scheme during the processing of the transcripts of the interviews. This could lead to incoherent schemes with insufficient theoretical background. We argue that researchers need to develop systematic coding rules that lead to a system in which all texts fit within the system and enables researchers to make reliable inferences. Thus, researchers basically need to combine the development of codes during the processing of the transcripts and then apply the generated codes to all protocols. Researchers could do this by using programs for qualitative analysis, such as Atlas.ti (Muhr, 1997).

To summarize, it seems evident that respondents have more freedom when answering open questions than when answering closed questions. Respondents could see this freedom either as a burden or as a motivator. The processing and analysis of the data collected with closed questions seems easier and cheaper for the researcher. But then again, in that case the researcher has to stick to the assumption that respondents interpret the questions and answer alternatives in the way as they were intended. Open questions offer the opportunities to acquire data to test these assumptions. However, open questions run the risk of tapping incomparable data and/or incomplete information. Therefore, the use of open questions requires interviewers who are capable to probe in case of unclear answers.

3.2 COMBINING OPEN QUESTIONS AND CLOSED QUESTIONS

Our review of the possibilities and restrictions of the use of open questions provided us with the confidence that combining open and closed questions can provide researchers with insights regarding conceptual and operational problems. We argue that a conceptual problem occurs when the attitude object as presented in the question does not fit in with the frame of reference of the respondent. We consider a problem to be operational when a term used in the question does not fit in with the frame of

reference of the respondent. Especially relevant are terms that are crucial in formulating evaluative predicates about the attitude object.

This made us decide to design a study in which open questions and closed questions are combined. Following the common practice of attitude research, we will use closed questions, but we also want to gain in-depth information on how respondents talk about the social group in question and especially the frames of reference used in their talk. Therefore, we will use open questions as well. This combination of open and closed questions actually equals a mixed methods approach. In the next subsection we are going to elaborate on the possibilities of a mixed methods approach.

3.2.1 MIXED METHODS

In their handbook of mixed methods in social and behavior research, Teddlie and Tashakkori (2003), suggest to use the term ‘mixed methods’ for studies that use qualitative and quantitative data collection and analysis techniques either parallel or successively.

They argue that qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection should be combined in a way that complementary strengths can be utilized and overlapping weaknesses can be avoided. They argue that there are three possibilities for studies that combine quantitative and qualitative methods: 1) those studies provide researchers the opportunity to simultaneously answer confirmatory and exploratory research questions and therefore enable them to verify and generate theory in the same study; 2) following Denzin’s concept of data triangulation (1978), mixed methods result in stronger inferences; 3) qualitative and quantitative results can offer researchers with different views on the same topic.

Although, these possibilities are often mentioned (see for an overview, Teddlie and Tashakkori (2003), the crucial question is: what do they actually mean in concrete research practice? Therefore, in this thesis, we are going to look at the possibilities of a mixed methods approach in attitude research. We will basically focus on the third possibility mentioned by Teddlie and Tashakkori (2003). We will combine the answers to open questions and answers to assertions with the purpose to gain insight in the basic assumption of attitude research.

An interesting question now is: “To what extent does combining these two question formats provide us with insights that open or closed questions alone cannot provide us with?” Answers to open and closed questions supplement each other. Thus, the advantages of assertions are combined with the advantages of open questions. In this way, answers to open questions can be used for the validation of the interpretation of answers to closed questions. Differences and similarities are scrutinized on behalf

of the assessment of the validity of the researcher's interpretation of respondent's answers to closed questions and offer us insights into conceptual and/or operational problems.

To summarize, we argue that the benefits of combining open and closed questions may be dependent on how univocal respondents experience the denotative meaning of the attitude object and on the consensus among respondents about this univocal denotative meaning of the attitude object. In a case where it is plausible to assume univocalness and consensus, the use of mixed methods is superfluous; but if there is any doubt, then the use of mixed methods might provide the researcher with valuable insights.

CHAPTER 4. THE PILOT STUDY

In chapter three we sketched a research design that enables us to answer our research questions. As, we stated in that chapter one of the questions focuses on attitude structure and the other question focuses on the conditions under which the basic assumptions of attitude research hold. We will use the answers to closed questions to answer the first question. Given the enormous amount of research done on attitude structure, we did not feel the need to conduct a pilot study that focused on that question. However, we did feel the need to conduct a pilot study to explore if the combination of open and closed questions enables us to make inferences about whether respondents attach a univocal denotative meaning to the attitude object. In the fall of 2002 we conducted this pilot study. . We choose one of the three attitude objects for this pilot study that is ‘Muslims in The Netherlands’. We have to note that the aim of this pilot is explorative.

As stated in chapter three, researchers almost always gauge attitudes via reactions to assertions. In this pilot study, respondents were asked to what extent they agree or disagree with assertions such as: “The values that Muslims in The Netherlands adhere to form a threat to Dutch values”. We compared the answers of respondents to this specific assertion with their answers to the following open question: “Some have the opinion that the values that Muslims in The Netherlands adhere to form no threat to Dutch values. Others have the opinion that the values Muslims in The Netherlands adhere to form a threat to Dutch values. What is your opinion?” In case of a too brief answer, the interviewer invited the respondents to elaborate on their answer.

4.1 METHODS OF THE PILOT STUDY

In October 2002, we developed a questionnaire about attitudes toward Muslims in The Netherlands. This questionnaire included sixteen questions (see box 4.1.2). Eight questions were balanced open questions and the other eight questions were assertions of which five were worded negatively and three were worded positively toward Muslims in The Netherlands. Half of the respondents started answering open questions and then reacted to assertions, while the other half started reacting to assertions and then answered open questions. The interviews were held in November 2002 and were face-to-face interviews. Each interview lasted between 20 and 30 minutes. The interviews were audio recorded and the answers to the open questions were typed out verbatim.

4.1.1 RESPONDENTS

The respondents were 20 students of the Faculty of Social Sciences of the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam. Lecturers asked students to participate in this study. All respondents participated voluntarily and received 5 Euro for their participation. The age of the respondents ranged from 21 to 48 years old; 85% of the students were between 21 and 27 years old. All respondents were Dutch and non-Muslim. The data of one student was dismissed from the study, because problems had occurred with the recording of the interview.

4.1.2 QUESTIONS

Box 4.1.2 shows the open questions and assertions used in this pilot study. One of the original questionnaires in Dutch can be found in appendix A. We used two versions of the questionnaire to control for question-order effects.

Box 4.1.2 Open questions and assertions used in the pilot study.

Open questions	Assertions
1 Some have the opinion that Islamic culture and Dutch culture are incompatible. Others have the opinion that Islamic culture and Dutch culture can coexist. What is your opinion?	Islamic culture and Dutch culture can coexist.
2 Some have the opinion that the religious leaders of Muslims in The Netherlands do <u>not</u> encourage their followers in religious fanaticism. Others have the opinion that the religious leaders of the Muslims in The Netherlands do encourage their followers in religious fanaticism. What is your opinion?	The religious leaders of Muslims in The Netherlands encourage their followers in religious fanaticism.
3 Some have the opinion that by far most Muslims in The Netherlands are intolerant with regard to people with different religions. Others have the opinion that by far most Muslims in The Netherlands are tolerant with regard to people with different religions. What is your opinion?	By far most Muslims in The Netherlands are tolerant with regard to people with different religions.
4 Some have the opinion that the Dutch government should treat Islamic organizations in The Netherlands the same as other organizations. Others have the opinion that the Dutch government has to conduct additional inspections on Islamic organizations. What is your opinion?	The Dutch government has to conduct additional inspections on Islamic organizations in The Netherlands.
5 Some have the opinion that by far most Muslims in The Netherlands are moderate in their religious beliefs. Others have the opinion that by far most Muslims in The Netherlands are fundamentalistic in their religious beliefs. What is your opinion?	By far most Muslims in The Netherlands are fundamentalistic in their religious beliefs.
6 Some have the opinion that the values that Muslims in The Netherlands adhere to form no threat to Dutch values. Others have the opinion that the values that Muslims in The Netherlands adhere to form a threat to Dutch values. What is your opinion?	The values that Muslims in The Netherlands adhere to form a threat to the Dutch values.

Box 4.1.2 (continued) Open questions and assertions used in the pilot study.

Open questions	Assertions
7 Some have the opinion that by far most Muslims in The Netherlands do not want to adapt to Dutch society. Others have the opinion that they do want to adapt to Dutch society. What is your opinion?	By far most Muslims in The Netherlands want to adapt to Dutch society.
8 Some have the opinion that by far most Muslims in The Netherlands are tolerant with regard to homosexuals. Others have the opinion that by far most Muslims in The Netherlands are intolerant with regard to homosexuals. What is your opinion?	By far most Muslims in The Netherlands are intolerant with regard to homosexuals.

Respondents were asked to what extent they agree or disagree with the assertions. They could choose between ‘fully agree’, ‘partly agree’, ‘do not agree/do not disagree’, ‘partly disagree’, ‘fully disagree’ and ‘no opinion’. Respondents were shown the answer alternatives on the screen of a laptop. In terms of content and question wording the open questions and closed questions were highly comparable.

4.2 RESULTS OF THE PILOT STUDY

4.2.1 CONSIDERATIONS

The first result of the pilot study is that we found that respondents verbalized considerations while answering the open questions with regard to three aspects, namely their answer; expressions used in the question and last but definitely not least the attitude object itself:

- Respondents constrained their answer with a condition (e.g. “Islamic and Dutch culture can coexist, if we are willing to respect each other”).
- Respondents differentiated the qualifications they assigned to the group. (e.g. “They should adapt to the Dutch society with respect to Dutch customs, but they do not have to adapt with respect to religion”).
- Respondents differentiated the group they were talking about (e.g. extreme Muslims versus moderate Muslims).

Below, we discuss the different considerations respondents verbalized by using examples from their answers to open questions.

Respondents constrained their answer with a condition while answering open questions in 20% of their answers. In general we could state that they basically said that they agree with a statement when a certain condition is met (see box 4.2.1.1).

Box 4.2.1.1 Respondent who constrained her answer with a condition.

<p>Q: Some have the opinion that Islamic culture and Dutch culture are incompatible. Others have the opinion that Islamic culture and Dutch culture can coexist. What is your opinion?</p> <p>R: [...] so... if knowledge of each other improves you can comprehend and appreciate each other better and you can understand why somebody does something in a different way than you do, because you will never have one culture ...not that, but cultures can exist next to each other.</p>	<p>Q: Sommigen zijn van mening dat de Islamitische en Nederlandse cultuur onverenigbaar zijn. Anderen zijn van mening dat beide culturen best naast elkaar kunnen bestaan. Wat is uw mening hierover?</p> <p>R: [...] dus... als kennis wordt verbeterd kan je elkaar beter begrijpen en waarderen en snap je ook waarom een ander iets doet op een andere manier dan jij, want je zal nooit één cultuur kunnen krijgen..... dat niet, maar wel naast elkaar.</p>
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In the example in box 4.2.1.1, the respondent constrained her answer with the condition ‘improvement of knowledge’. The respondent thus says that if knowledge of each other improves then both cultures can coexist. This could be described as a consideration with regard to her answer. The respondent uses the freedom of an open question to nuance her answer.

Respondents differentiated the qualifications they assigned to the group while answering open questions in 9% of their answers. In such a way that they said that in some respects the qualification is justified and in other respects it is not (see box 4.2.1.2).

Box 4.2.1.2 Respondent who differentiated the qualifications assigned to the group

<p>Q: Some have the opinion that by far most Muslims in The Netherlands do not want to adapt to the Dutch society. Others have the opinion that they do want to adapt to the Dutch society. What is your opinion?</p> <p>R: [...] I do find it important that people learn the Dutch language etcetera... but I don't think they should have to know Dutch customs or that they should have to carry them out. That is not necessary. [...]</p>	<p>Q: Sommigen zijn van mening dat bij verreweg de meeste Moslims in Nederland de bereidheid om zich aan te willen passen aan de Nederlandse samenleving ontbreekt. Anderen zijn van mening dat zij zich wel willen aanpassen. Wat is uw mening hierover?</p> <p>R: [...] Ik vind het wel belangrijk dat ze Nederlands leren etcetera... maar ik vind niet dat ze de Nederlandse gebruiken moeten kennen en zich zo gedragen. Dat is niet nodig [...]</p>
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In this example, the respondent differentiated the term ‘adjustment’ and made a distinction between language and the Dutch customs. This could be described as a consideration with regard to terms used in the question.

Respondents differentiated the social group, and thus the attitude object they were talking about, while answering open questions in 35% of their answers (see table 4.2.1). In the case of Muslims in The Netherlands, respondents either made a distinction between extreme Muslims and moderate Muslims or young Muslims and old Muslims.

Box 4.2.1.3 Respondent who differentiates Muslims in The Netherlands.

<p>Q: Some have the opinion that by far most Muslims in The Netherlands do not want to adapt to the Dutch society. Others have the opinion that they do want to adapt to the Dutch society. What is your opinion?</p> <p>R: Eh..., well, I think the majority is willing to adapt, except those real fundamentalists. I think that they, yes, they adapt because they know that their children are growing up here and that they actually have to. [...].</p>	<p>Q: Sommigen zijn van mening dat bij verreweg de meeste Moslims in Nederland de bereidheid om zich aan te willen passen aan de Nederlandse samenleving ontbreekt. Anderen zijn van mening dat zij zich wel willen aanpassen. Wat is uw mening hierover?</p> <p>R: Eh... Nou, ik denk dat het grootste gedeelte wel bereid is om zich aan te passen, behalve dan die echte fundamentalisten. Denk wel ik dat ze, ja, zo ingeburgerd zijn dat ze weten dat hun kinderen hier ook op gaan groeien en dat ze wel moeten eigenlijk. [...].</p>
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In this example, the respondent made a distinction between moderate Muslims and fundamentalists. We will describe this as a consideration with regard to the attitude object, or in other words, the attitude object as posed by the researcher does not seem to fit in with the frame of reference of the respondent. In other words, this respondent did not assign a univocal denotative meaning to the attitude object 'Muslims in The Netherlands'.

So the pilot study shows that a substantial part of the respondents does have different considerations with regard to their own answer, terms used in the question and specifically about the attitude object presented in the question. In the next section we are going to analyze the differences between answers to open and closed questions and whether or not the answers to open questions provide researchers with useful additional information.

4.2.2 COMPATIBLE VERSUS INCOMPATIBLE ANSWERS

In this subsection we want to find out to what extent the answers to open questions and assertions are compatible. We consider an answer to an open question and an assertion compatible, if 1) the answers are identical; in this situation the answer to the open question does not provide the researcher with any additional information; 2) respondents only substantiate their answer; 3) respondents only contextualize their answer by connecting a condition to their answer.

In box 4.2.1.2 we presented an example of an answer in which the respondent constrained her answer with a condition. In box 4.2.2.1 we present an example of an answer of a respondent to an open question that does not hold any extra information for the researcher and in box 4.2.2.2 we present an answer in which the respondent substantiates her answer.

Box 4.2.2.1 Answer to an open question that does not hold any additional information.

<p>Q: Some have the opinion that the Dutch government should treat Islamic organizations in The Netherlands the same as other organizations. Others have the opinion that the Dutch government has to conduct extra inspections on Islamic organizations. What is your opinion?</p> <p>R: No, just a similar treatment. Not more or less inspections, no.</p>	<p>Q: Sommigen zijn van mening dat de Nederlandse overheid Islamitische organisaties in Nederland op dezelfde manier moet behandelen als ander godsdienstige organisaties. Anderen zijn van mening dat de Nederlandse overheid Islamitische organisaties in Nederland extra moet controleren. Wat is uw mening hierover?</p> <p>R: Nee, gewoon hetzelfde behandelen, niet meer of minder controleren, nee.</p>
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The answer of the respondent, who gave the answer to the open question that is shown in box 4.2.2.1, in response to the assertion: “The Dutch government has to conduct extra inspections on Islamic organizations in The Netherlands” was ‘fully disagree’.

Box 4.2.2.2 shows an example of a respondent who substantiates why she thinks that Muslims are a ‘bit intolerant’ with regard to homosexuals. The respondent answered the assertion “By far most Muslims in The Netherlands are intolerant with regard to homosexuals” with ‘partly agree’. In this example the answer to the open question provided the researcher with additional information that revealed the reason why.

Box 4.2.2.2 Respondent substantiates her answer.

<p>Q: Some have the opinion that by far most Muslims in The Netherlands are tolerant with regard to homosexuals. Others have the opinion that by far most Muslims in The Netherlands are intolerant with regard to homosexuals. What is your opinion?</p> <p>R: Uhh, I think that that religion does not allow it, at least, that they do not really...Your marriage is arranged when you are young and I suppose that they will not arrange with a woman or a man when you are a girl or a boy. So, I think they are a bit intolerant with respect to this.</p>	<p>Q: Sommigen zijn van mening dat verreweg de meeste Moslims in Nederland tolerant zijn ten aanzien van homoseksuelen. Anderen zijn van mening dat verreweg de meeste Moslims in Nederland intolerant zijn ten aanzien van deze groep. Wat is uw mening hierover?</p> <p>R: Uhh, ik denk dat die religie dat dat daar niet echt is toegestaan, tenminste, dat ze daar niet echt... je wordt daar al vroeg uitgehuwelijkt en zo en dan neem ik aan dat ze niet uithuwelijken aan een vrouw of man als je jongen of meisje bent. Dus ik denk dat ze daar een beetje intolerant tegenover staan.</p>
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In table 4.2.1, we present the results regarding compatible and incompatible answers. The table shows that only 46% of the answers to assertions and open questions are compatible. The table also shows that when the answers to open questions and assertions are compatible, the overwhelming majority (91%) of the answers to open questions contain additional information, thus information that supplements the answers to assertions. The answers to open questions provided us with insight in: 1) the conditions respondents assign to their agreement or disagreement with a certain statement and 2) the arguments respondents use to substantiate a certain answer. Only four percent of the answers to

open questions and assertions were identical, that is, these answers to the open question did not provide any additional information.

Fifty-four percent of the answers to open questions are incompatible. Respondents differentiated the group they are referring to in 35% of their answers and they differentiated the qualifications in about 9% of their answers. Another striking result is that respondents gave a different answer to the open questions and the assertions in 8% of their answers. Looking at these answers, it is interesting that when this happens almost all respondents chose the ‘do not agree/do not disagree’ answer category while answering the assertions. We will elaborate on this in section 4.2.6

Table 4.2.1 *Compatible and incompatible answers (n = 152).*

Closed questions	Compatible answers to open questions			Incompatible answers to open questions			
	Substantiating	Conditioning	Identical	Differentiation of the group	Differentiation of qualifications	Both differentiation's	Different answer
1: Islamic culture and Dutch culture can coexist.	1%	9%	1%	2%	-	-	-
2: The religious leaders of Muslims in The Netherlands encourage their followers in religious fanaticism.	4%	-	-	7%	2%	-	-
3: By far most Muslims in The Netherlands are tolerant with regard to people with different religions.	2%	-		6%	1%	1%	2%
4: The Dutch government has to conduct additional inspections on Islamic organizations in The Netherlands.	5%	3%	1%	1%	1%	-	1%
5: By far most Muslims in The Netherlands are fundamentalistic in their religious beliefs.	1%	-	1%		1%	-	-
6: The values that Muslims in The Netherlands adhere to form a threat to Dutch society.	4%	3%	-	1%	1	1%	3%
7: By far most Muslims in The Netherlands want to adapt to Dutch society.	3%	1%	-	6%	3%	1%	-
8: By far most Muslims in The Netherlands are intolerant toward homosexuals.	7%	-	1%		-	-	2%
Total ³	26 %	16%	4%	35%	9%	2%	8%

³ For the sake of readability, we rounded off the percentages in this table. This may lead to cumulative percentages that differ from the total numbers in the table.

In summary, these results show that only a very small amount of the answers to open questions and corresponding assertions were identical. Thus, the vast majority of answers to open questions provided us with information that we could not have known if we had solely measured the attitudes toward Muslims in The Netherlands with assertions.

4.2.3 CONSIDERATIONS AND ANSWERS TO CLOSED QUESTIONS

In this section, we check whether having considerations influences the answers of respondents to closed questions. We start by reporting the answer categories respondents chose while answering assertions.

Table 4.2.2 shows that respondents chose the moderate answer categories ('partly agree', 'do not agree/do not disagree' and 'partly disagree') in almost 80% of the cases. Only 18% of the answers were scored in the extreme answer categories ('fully agree' or 'fully disagree'). The 'no opinion' category was only chosen six times. This is a low score for this response category. This is probably due to the fact that the position of Muslims in The Netherlands is one of the main issues of the public debate. However, it could also be due to the fact that all respondents had higher education and research has shown that the strongest social background correlate of 'no opinion' is low education (e.g. Francis & Busch, 1975).

Table 4.2.2 *Answer categories on closed questions⁴ (n=152).*

Closed questions	Answer categories					
	Fully agree	Partly agree	Do not agree/Do not disagree	Partly disagree	Fully disagree	No Opinion
1: Islamic culture and Dutch culture can coexist.	4%	9%	-	-	-	-
2: The religious leaders of Muslims in The Netherlands encourage their followers in religious fanaticism.	1%	6%	2%	3%	-	-
3: By far most Muslims in The Netherlands are tolerant with regard to people with different religions.	1%	6%	1%	4%	-	1%
4: The Dutch government has to conduct additional inspections on Islamic organizations in The Netherlands.	1%	8	2%	2%	3%	-
5: By far most Muslims in The Netherlands are fundamentalistic in their religious beliefs.	-	2%	2%	6%	2%	1%
6: The values that Muslims in The Netherlands adhere to form a threat to Dutch society.	-	3%	3%	5%	2%	1%
7: By far most Muslims in The Netherlands want to adapt to Dutch society.	1%	6%	3%	1%	1%	-
8: By far most Muslims in The Netherlands are intolerant toward homosexuals.	1%	11	1%	1%	-	2%
Total	10%	43%	13%	22%	8%	4%

Table 4.2.1 already showed that the verbalization of considerations occurs in the majority of the answers to open questions (65%). This makes one wonder if there is a relation between the choice of an answer category in answering an assertion and the verbalization of considerations in answering a corresponding open question. Tourangeau et al. (2000) argue that when multiple considerations about an issue come to mind, respondents combine these considerations to come to an overall judgment. Their model is a simplified version of Norman Anderson's averaging model (1981) for judgments; their version assumes the assignment of equal weights to each consideration.

We expect that respondents who verbalize considerations while answering open questions are more likely to choose one of the moderate answer categories than they are likely to choose an extreme answer category. The moderate answer categories are 'partly agree', 'do not agree/do not disagree' and 'partly disagree'. We chose to include the 'partly agree' and 'partly disagree' answer categories, because

⁴ All percentages are rounded off.

Van den Berg and Carabain (2003) showed in their study on opinions about asylum seekers and traffic jams that the distance between the 'partly (dis)agree' and 'do not agree/do not disagree' answer category is smaller than the distance between the 'partly (dis)agree' and 'strongly (dis)agree' answer categories. In the present study, we consider the answers to the open question as a verbal expression of the considerations respondents have and might have used while answering the assertions. We then can use this information to gain more insight into their answers to the assertions.

The results of the chi-square test show that there is a relation between the occurrence of mentioning considerations and the choice of the answer category ($\chi^2 = 7.72$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.01$). Respondents who verbalized considerations when answering the open questions were more likely to choose one of the moderate answer categories when answering the corresponding assertions. The strength of this relation is expressed in Cramer's $V = .23$. This indicates a moderately strong relation.

So far, the results of our pilot study indicate that asking both open and closed questions provided us with additional information, and showed the influence of having considerations when answering open questions on the answer behavior on closed questions. In the next section, we are going to use this information to make inferences about conceptual and operational problems.

4.2.4 CONCEPTUAL PROBLEMS

We argue that a conceptual problem occurs when respondents differentiate the attitude object, because then the attitude object the researcher wants to study does not fit in with the frame of reference of (some) respondents. In other words, the respondents do not attach one univocal denotative meaning to the attitude object.

We presented such an example in box 4.2.1.3. The answer of the respondent presented in box 4.2.1.3 indicates that the so-called Muslim in general does not fit in her frame of reference with regard to Muslims. She distinguished between Muslim fundamentalist and moderate Muslims and expresses a contradicting attitude toward these two groups. This answer is not an exception to the rule. On the contrary, as can be inferred from table 4.2.1, in about one third of the answers, the group of Muslims is differentiated. In other words, the answers to open questions signify that the assertions run the risk of measuring the attitude toward a certain social group that does not exist in that form for at least a substantial group of respondents.

4.2.5 OPERATIONAL PROBLEMS

Question wording is a well-known cause of operational problems. We argue that when respondents differentiate the qualifications used in the question wording of assertions, this could be an indicator of an operational problem. Box 4.2.5 shows an example of a respondent who differentiated between several aspects of adjustment to Dutch society.

Box 4.2.5 Example of an operational problem.

<p>Q: Some have the opinion that by far most Muslims in The Netherlands do not want to adapt to Dutch society. Others have the opinion that they do want to adapt to Dutch society. What is your opinion?</p> <p>R: [...] You can have adapted, thus doing things the way we do them in The Netherlands, and nevertheless stick to your own religion and your own culture [...].</p>	<p>Q: Sommigen zijn van mening dat bij verreweg de meeste Moslims in Nederland de bereidheid om zich aan te willen passen aan de Nederlandse samenleving ontbreekt. Anderen zijn van mening dat zij zich wel willen aanpassen. Wat is uw mening hierover?</p> <p>R: [...] je kunt je ook aanpassen, dus dingen doen zoals wij dat in Nederland doen en toch je eigen godsdienst en cultuur behouden [...].</p>
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The problem with this question is that the question wording does not specify in which respects Muslims should 'adapt'. We consider this as an operational problem, because the question wording did not fit in with the way the respondents think about the evaluative terms used in the questionnaire with regard to the attitude-object.

4.2.6 THE VALIDATION OF THE INTERPRETATION OF NEUTRAL ANSWERS TO ASSERTIONS

A particularly interesting problem concerns the validation of respondent's choice of the middle category in answering assertions. The 'do not agree/do not disagree'-answer category is generally considered as the answer category respondents choose when they have a neutral position toward an attitude object. We want to check whether or not these respondents also verbalized neutral attitudes while answering the comparable open question. Table 4.2.6 shows that in total twenty answers are scored in this category. These 20 answers are the 13% of the 152 answers that are reported in table 4.2.2.

Table 4.2.6 *Relation between ‘neutral’ answers to assertions and answers to open questions (n = 20).*

Closed questions	Differentiation of the group	Differentiation of qualifications	Different answer
1: Islamic culture and Dutch culture can coexist.	-	-	-
2: The religious leaders of Muslims in The Netherlands encourage their followers in religious fanaticism.	2	1	-
3: By far most Muslims in The Netherlands are tolerant with regard to people with different religions.	-	-	1
4: The Dutch government has to conduct additional expectations on Islamic organizations in The Netherlands.	1	-	2
5: By far most Muslims in The Netherlands are fundamentalistic in their religious beliefs.	3	-	-
6: The values that Muslims in The Netherlands adhere to form a threat to Dutch society.	-	-	4
7: By far most Muslims in The Netherlands want to adapt to Dutch society.	2	2	-
8: By far most Muslims in The Netherlands are intolerant toward homosexuals.	1	-	1
Total	9	3	8

Table 4.2.6 shows how respondents answer the corresponding open questions, when they chose the so-called ‘neutral’ answer category while answering assertions. A remarkable result is that respondents gave different answers to the assertions in 40% of these answers. In such a way that respondents did not give an opinion that could be described as neutral (see box 4.2.6). This is a strange phenomenon because in this case closed questions seem to evoke a different answer within respondents than open questions. Van den Berg & Carabain (2003) argue that these differences could be due to two effects: 1) the suggestive effect of assertions. More specifically, people who actually do disagree with the statement do not choose an opposite answer category, instead they end up in the middle answer category, and 2) respondents think of something else while answering the open question than while answering the closed question. The next example shows an answer of a respondent of the first effect. This respondent answered ‘do not agree/do not disagree to the assertion “By far most Muslims in The Netherlands are tolerant with regard to people with different religions”’.

Box 4.2.6 Example of a non-neutral answer to an open question

<p>Q: Some have the opinion that by far most Muslims in The Netherlands are intolerant with regard to people with different religions. Others have the opinion that by far most Muslims in The Netherlands are tolerant with regard to people with different religions. What is your opinion?</p> <p>R: I think that they should be more tolerant, those people of Muslim descent, that they are less tolerant regarding this than people of other religions. Thus their descent has influence [...]</p>	<p>Q: Sommigen zijn van mening dat verreweg de meeste Moslims in Nederland intolerant zijn ten aanzien van mensen met andere religies. Anderen zijn weer van mening dat verreweg de meeste Moslims in Nederland <i>tolerant</i> zijn ten aanzien van mensen met andere religies. Wat is uw mening hierover?</p> <p>R: Ik denk dat ze wel wat toleranter zouden mogen zijn, die mensen van Moslimse afkomst. Dat ze inderdaad minder tolerant daar tegenover staan, dan mensen met een andere religie. Dus dat het wel van invloed is, hun afkomst, [...]</p>
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Respondents differentiated the group or the qualifications in 60% of their answers. In these cases, the choice of the ‘do not agree/do not disagree’-answer category might be a result of averaging contradicting considerations. This result shows that the answers to open questions can help researchers interpret the so-called ‘neutral’ answers to assertions.

4.3 CONCLUSIONS

In this section, we present our conclusions with regard to the results of our pilot study. Respectively, we will discuss the results with regard to the verbalizations of considerations, the possibilities regarding the improvement of insight in conceptual and operational problems, the influence on having considerations on open questions and the answer behavior on closed questions, and we will end with a general conclusion.

Respondents verbalized three types of considerations, i.e.: (1) respondents constrained their answer with a condition, (2) respondents differentiated the attitude object, and (3) respondents differentiated the qualifications they assigned to the group.

Conceptual problems occur when respondents differentiate the attitude object. This means that the attitude object, as proposed in the question, does not fit in with the respondent’s frame of reference. In other words, respondents do not attach a univocal denotative meaning to the attitude object.

Operational problems occur when respondents differentiate evaluative terms regarding the attitude object in the question. In this case the frame of reference with regard to evaluative terms used in the question do not fit in with the frame of reference of the respondent. However, the occurrence of operational problems does not mean that we can only measure attitudes if respondents do not

differentiate the evaluative terms regarding attitude objects. We just want to emphasize that the answers to open questions can provide researchers with information that can be used to interpret answers of respondents to closed questions. The results of this pilot study indicate that the use of open questions provides researchers with insight into both types of problems.

Respondents, who verbalized considerations when answering open questions were more likely to choose a moderate answer category. This could be because respondents were averaging contrasting opinions. So respondents could have extreme opinions about, for example, fundamentalistic Muslims but when they realize that not all Muslims are fundamentalistic they end up in one of the moderate answer categories. Hochschild (1981) argues that when respondents modulate, deny, or retract, it manifests uncertainty. This study shows that these are not manifestations of uncertainty, but on the contrary, manifestations of signified opinions that just did not fit in with the frame of reference of the assertions.

The possibilities of validation of interpretations of answers to assertions were explored by analyzing the answers respondents gave to open questions if they had chosen the 'do not agree/do not disagree' answer category while answering assertions. A striking finding was that none of the answers to the open questions could be considered as compatible with the neutral answer to the assertions. The answers to the open questions suggest that the answers in the 'do not agree/do not disagree'-answer category do not reflect neutral opinions, but respondents choose this category when they do not attach a univocal denotative meaning to the attitude object, thus to Muslims in The Netherlands. The answers to open questions enable us to detect whether respondents framed an attitude object in a way that is not assumed by the researcher.

4.3.1 GENERAL DISCUSSION

The results of this pilot study indicate that asking both open and closed questions enables us to gain insight into which situations the basic assumptions of attitude research hold. This study shows that if respondents answer corresponding open questions, they take the opportunity to differentiate the group as presented in the question. As a social group, 'Muslims in The Netherlands' may be considered as a distinct group, but this study shows that in about one third of the answers, respondents made distinctions between two subgroups to which they hold contradicting or at least different attitudes. Moreover, if the choice of a substantial group of respondents for a moderate answer category indicates considerations and thus multiple positions on a dimension, and the choice of another group of

respondents for an extreme answer category indicates a one-dimensional view on the question topic, this threatens the comparability of the answers to closed questions.

Many scholars, such as Schuman and Presser (1989) advocated the use of open questions to test questionnaires. This pilot study shows that asking open questions could also be valuable during later stages of a study. Answers to open questions could also provide the researcher with insights and provide her with tools to interpret the data collected with assertions more adequately.

However, the limitation of this pilot study is that we focused on attitudes toward only one specific social group. Therefore it will be interesting to design a comparative study in which the measurement of attitudes toward different social groups will be compared.

4.3.2 HYPOTHESIS ABOUT THE MEANING OF MODERATE ANSWER CATEGORIES

We end this chapter by presenting a fourth hypothesis. This hypothesis derives from the results of this pilot study and concerns the influence of the differentiation of the social group while answering open questions on the answers to closed questions. The results of this pilot study indicate that respondents who differentiate Muslims while answering open questions are more likely to choose a moderate answer category when answering a corresponding closed question. We want to check if this result also holds in the main study. We have two reasons to do so: 1) due to the larger sample size we will be able to use the respondents as units of analysis instead of answers to questions, and 2) the research population in the pilot study only consists of students and we also want to test this finding in a more diverse research sample. Our fourth hypothesis is:

Respondents, who differentiate the attitude object while answering the open question, are more likely to choose a moderate answer category when answering a corresponding closed question than respondents who do not differentiate the attitude object while answering the open question.

CHAPTER 5. DESIGN OF THE MAIN STUDY

The results of the pilot study show that the use of open and closed questions produces insight into the assumptions of traditional attitude research and thus will enable us to answer our research questions. In this chapter, we present the methods of the main study of this thesis. We will divert from the pilot study in three aspects. First, we found that the way we asked our open questions was not the most effective way to answer our main research questions regarding the univocal denotative meaning respondents attach to the attitude object under investigation. In the pilot study, our idea was to make the answers to open and closed questions highly comparable. The result was that the use of open questions ends up functioning, more or less, as think-aloud interviewing (Ericsson & Simon, 1980). Respondents did not only answer the open questions in their own words, but also used the opportunity to give their opinion about the comparable assertion. Therefore, in the main study we will formulate our open questions in a way that the answers enable us to infer the frames of reference used by the respondent more effectively. Second, we will ask three sub samples of respondents questions about their attitude toward one of the following groups: Muslims, Moroccan youths and allochtonen. The last difference between the pilot study and the main study is the research population. In the pilot study the research population solely consisted of students and in the main study the research population consists of adult Dutch people.

5.1 DESIGN

The study has a three by two design, that are three topics (allochtonen, Muslims and Moroccan youths) crossed with two different question orders (open questions first versus assertions first). This design enables us on the one hand to compare and test results between the three questionnaire topics, and on the other hand, it enables us to check for possible question order effects.

5.2 PARTICIPANTS

The respondents were sampled from a database of TNS NIPO. This database contains 200.000 people. Respondents registered in this database are people who have indicated to TNS NIPO that they are

willing to participate regularly in their studies. They usually participate in CAWI (computer assisted web interviewing) research.

TNS NIPO approached 1106 participants of this database in two waves. The study was presented as a study about ‘certain aspects of Dutch society’. In the first wave, 800 participants were initially approached, 599 participants reacted to this initial screening question and 304 participants agreed to a face-to-face interview on behalf of a scientific study of the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam. To make sure that enough respondents were available for this study, they conducted a second wave. In this second wave 306 participants of the database were asked the screening question on whether they wanted to participate in this study, 227 participants reacted to the screening question and 116 participants agreed with a face-to-face interview.

Thus 420 (304 from the first wave and 116 from the second wave) participants of the database agreed to participate in this study. TNS NIPO checked the background information of these respondents. It was crucial for this study that the participants were ‘autochthons’, because this study is about their attitudes toward allochtonen, Muslims and Moroccan youths in The Netherlands. ‘Autochthons’ in The Netherlands are defined as persons of whom both parents were born in The Netherlands (CBS, Statistics Netherlands). The information on whether respondents are autochthons is part of the TNS NIPO database. After the background information was checked, 382 respondents remained eligible for the study.

These 382 participants were equally divided between the three samples based on their age, gender, social class and place of residence. Three hundred and ten respondents were interviewed for this study. The remaining 72 respondents were either not able to cooperate because they were not able to make an appointment with the interviewer in the given period or they were not asked because the number of interviews had exceeded the planned 300 interviews. The interviews were computer-assisted, face-to-face interviews and were held in November and December 2004. The interviews lasted between 15 and 45 minutes.

5.3 INTERVIEWERS

The project manager of TNS NIPO selected thirty-two experienced interviewers to conduct the interviews. The interviewers interviewed on average about ten respondents each. The interviewers were randomly assigned to the topic and to the respondents. Before they started interviewing, the researcher instructed and trained the interviewers. This instruction covered a general introduction to interviewing,

an introduction to the study and the questionnaire, the use of cassette recorders for the recording of the interviews and a more specific training in the probing of answers to open questions. The interviewers participated in some exercises in the probing of answers to open questions. We included these exercises, because the interviewers hardly had any experience with probing answers to open questions.

The introduction of the study included an explanation of the specific goals of using open questions and assertions. The focus was on the different roles the interviewer has to deal with when using these two question formats in one interview. The researcher emphasized the importance of the standardization of the pronunciation of the assertions. Thus interviewers were specifically asked to stress certain words of an assertion. The interviewers were instructed to use a socio-emotional style of interviewing (Dijkstra, 1987). This is an interview style in which the interviewer is instructed to show personal interest in the respondent in order to maintain rapport during the whole interview. We chose this interview style because respondents need to feel comfortable to talk freely answering open questions.

The size of the group of interviewers who were simultaneously trained ranged between one and three. Each instruction lasted about three hours and took place in the house of one of the interviewers.

5.4 THE QUESTIONNAIRES

5.4.1 DESIGN OF THE QUESTIONNAIRES

In the summer of 2004, we developed three questionnaires respectively about attitudes toward Moroccan youths, Muslims and allochtonen in The Netherlands. Although the topic of the questionnaires differed, the vast majority of the questions were worded exactly the same (see box 5.4.3).

As we argued in chapter two, the measurement of attitudes should entail questions on three dimensions – cognition, behavioral intention and affect. The cognitive dimension entails questions on thoughts that people have about respectively allochtonen, Muslims or Moroccan youths. The behavioral questions cover intentions to act in a certain way. Questions about affects include affective evaluations of the attitude object. It should be noted that all these questions, regardless of the dimension, could be considered as evaluative statements toward the attitude objects. We formulated eleven assertions about cognitions, seven assertions with regard to behavioral intentions, and seven questions about affect.

Besides the assertions, we developed eight open questions. These questions also focus on the attitudes towards respectively allochtonen, Muslims or Moroccan youths.

The questionnaires also included questions on whether or not respondents had any contact with allochtonen, Muslims or Moroccan youths and some questions on knowledge about allochtonen, Muslims and Moroccan youths in The Netherlands, such as: “According to you, what percentage of the Dutch population is Muslim?”.

5.4.2 PRE-TESTING THE QUESTIONNAIRES

In September 2004 we held fourteen cognitive interviews to pre-test the questionnaires. These interviews lasted between forty and sixty minutes.

We distinguish between two major sub-types of cognitive interviewing, namely ‘think-aloud’ interviewing (Ericsson & Simon, 1980) and the use of verbal probing techniques (Willis et al., 1999). In the first technique respondents are explicitly instructed to think aloud as they answer questions. In the second technique the interviewer starts by asking the question and the respondent answers this question. After this normal question-answer sequence the interviewer probes for more specific information, relevant to the question or the given answer. For example, the interviewer asked respondents questions such as “Can you repeat the question in your own words?” or “Was this question easy to answer for you?”. We chose to use verbal probing techniques, because it is easier for respondents to answer probes than to verbalize thoughts as in ‘think-aloud’ interviewing. Moreover, the verbal probing techniques enable the interviewer to keep close to the topic of the interview.

The respondents who participated in this pre-test were fourteen students of the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam asked by the researcher to participate. The respondents received 10 Euro for their participation. The age of the respondents ranged from 18 to 34 year. The data of two students was removed from this study because, although these students had the Dutch nationality, they identified themselves as allochtonen.

In this pre-test, we found that respondents encounter difficulties in distinguishing between assertions regarding the behavioral and the affective dimension. For example, respondents did not notice a difference between the question concerning the behavioral dimension “If I see a group of Muslims on the streets, I always cross the street” and the question concerning the affective dimension “When I walk along a group of Muslims on the street, I feel unpleasant”. Several respondents gave comments such as: “You already asked this question”. This made us decide to remove one of these assertions from the questionnaire. The pre-testing of the questionnaire resulted in adjustments of both the assertions and the open questions. In total, fifteen out of twenty-one assertions were reformulated. Three assertions were removed from the questionnaire. All open questions were adjusted.

5.4.3 THE FINAL QUESTIONNAIRES

Box 5.4.3 shows the final version of the assertions and the open questions. The complete questionnaires in Dutch are presented in appendix B. Respondents were asked to what extent they agreed or disagreed with the assertions. They could choose between ‘fully agree’, ‘partly agree’, ‘do not agree/do not disagree’, ‘partly disagree’, ‘fully disagree’ and ‘don’t know’. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the vast majority of the assertions and all open questions were worded the same for each of the three samples except of course for the attitude object.

Box 5.4.3 The assertions and open questions.

Allochtonen	Muslims	Moroccan youths
Assertions: Cognitions		
C1: By far most allochtonen remain aloof from Dutch society.	C1: By far most Muslims remain aloof from Dutch society.	C1: By far most Moroccan youths remain aloof from Dutch society.
C2: By far most allochtonen want to adapt to Dutch society.	C2: By far most Muslims want to adapt to Dutch society.	C2: By far most Moroccan youths want to adapt to Dutch society.
C3: By far most allochtonen look down on homosexuals.	C3: By far most Muslims look down on homosexuals.	C3: By far most Moroccan youths look down on homosexuals.
C4: By far most allochtonen are tolerant toward people who think differently.	C4: By far most Muslims are tolerant toward people who think differently.	C4: By far most Moroccan youths are tolerant toward people who think differently.
C5: The presence of allochtonen in The Netherlands contributes to Dutch society.	C5: The presence of Muslims in The Netherlands contributes to Dutch society.	
C6: Allochtonen will do anything for their family.	C6: Muslims will do anything for their family.	C6: Moroccan youths will do anything for their family.
	C8: By far most Muslims are fundamentalistic in their religious beliefs.	C7: Moroccan youths are unmanageable.
C9: Allochtonen are discriminated against on the labor market.	C9: Muslims are discriminated against on the labor market.	C9: Moroccan youths are discriminated against on the labor market.
Assertions: Behavioral intentions		
B1: If I see a group of allochtonen on the streets, I always cross the street.	B1: If I see a group of Muslims on the streets, I always cross the street.	B1: If I see a group of Moroccan youths on the streets, I always cross the street.
B2: I can live in a neighborhood in which the majority of the neighbors are allochtonen.	B2: I can live in a neighborhood in which the majority of the neighbors are Muslims.	B2: I can live in a neighborhood in which the majority of the neighbors are Moroccan youths.
B3: I rather work with Dutch colleagues than with allochtonen as colleagues.	B3: I rather work with Dutch colleagues than with Muslims as colleagues.	B3: I rather work with Dutch colleagues than with Moroccan youths as colleagues.
B4: I can be friends with allochtonen.	B4: I can be friends with Muslims.	B4: I can be friends with Moroccan youths.

Box 5.4.3 (continued) The assertions and open questions.

Allochtonen	Muslims	Moroccan youths
B5: I believe that we always have to treat allochtonen in the same way as other Dutch people. B6: It is a problem for me to send my children to a school with a large majority of children of allochtonen. B7: I do not want an allochtoon as my boss.	B5: I believe that we always have to treat Muslims in the same way as other Dutch people. B6: It is a problem for me to send my children to a school with a large majority of Muslim children. B7: I do not want a Muslim as my boss.	B5: I believe that we always have to treat Moroccan youths in the same way as other Dutch people. B6: It is a problem for me to send my children to a school with a large majority of Moroccan children.
Assertions: Affections		
A1: On the whole I believe live allochtonen are friendly. A2: I often get annoyed with the behavior of allochtonen on the streets. A3: I am uncomfortable sharing a bus ride with a group of allochtonen. A4: On the whole I consider allochtonen reliable. A5: I experience the presence of allochtonen in Dutch society as threatening. A6: I consider the attitude of allochtonen toward other Dutch people positively.	A1: On the whole I believe Muslims are friendly. A2: I often get annoyed with the behavior of Muslims on the streets. A3: I am uncomfortable sharing a bus ride with a group of Muslims. A4: On the whole I consider Muslims reliable. A5: I experience the presence of Muslims in Dutch society as threatening. A6: I consider the attitude of Muslims toward other Dutch people positively.	A1: On the whole I believe Moroccan youths are friendly. A2: I often get annoyed with the behavior of Moroccan youths on the streets. A3: I am uncomfortable sharing a bus ride with a group of Moroccan youths. A4: On the whole I consider Moroccan youths reliable. A5: I experience the presence of Moroccan youths in Dutch society as threatening. A6: I consider the attitude of Moroccan youths toward other Dutch people positively.
Open questions		
O1: What image comes to your mind when you think of the word 'allochtonen'? Do any other thoughts come to mind when you hear the word 'allochtonen'? O2: What feelings does the word 'allochtonen' evoke? Does the word call up any other emotions? O3: According to you, are there differences between allochtonen and other Dutch people? Could you elaborate on that? O4: According to you, are there differences among allochtonen? Could you elaborate on that? O5: Do you think that the allochtonen in The Netherlands adapt well enough to Dutch society? Could you tell me a bit more about that? What do you consider 'well enough adapted'?	O1: What image comes to your mind when you think of the word 'Muslims'? Do any other thoughts come to mind when you hear the word 'Muslims'? O2: What feelings do the word 'Muslims' evoke? Does the word call up any other emotions? O3: According to you, are there differences between Muslims and other Dutch people? Could you elaborate on that? O4: According to you, are there differences among Muslims? Could you elaborate on that? O5: Do you think that the Muslims in The Netherlands adapt well enough to Dutch society? Could you tell me a bit more about that? What do you consider 'well enough adapted'?	O1: What image comes to your mind when you think of the word 'Moroccan youths'? Do any other thoughts come to mind when you hear the word 'Moroccan youths'? O2: What feelings do the word 'Moroccan youths' evoke? Does the word call up any other emotions? O3: According to you, are there differences between the Moroccan youths and other Dutch youths? Could you elaborate on that? O4: According to you, are there differences among Moroccans youths? Could you elaborate on that? O5: Do you think that Moroccan youths in The Netherlands adapt well enough to Dutch society? Could you tell me a bit more about that? What do you consider 'well enough adapted'?

Box 5.4.3 (continued) The assertions and open questions.

Allochtonen	Muslims	Moroccan youths
O6: What is your opinion about the attitude allochtonen have toward people who think differently? Could you elaborate on that?	O6: What is your opinion about the attitude Muslims have toward people who think differently? Could you elaborate on that?	O6: What is your opinion about the attitude Moroccan youths have toward people who think differently? Could you elaborate on that?
O7: Have you ever felt threatened by allochtonen?	O7: Have you ever felt threatened by Muslims?	O7: Have you ever felt threatened by Moroccan youths?
O8: What do you think of the image of allochtonen in the Dutch media? Why do you think it is like this?	O8: What do you think of the image of Muslims in the Dutch media? Why do you think it is like this?	O8: What do you think of the image of Moroccan youths in the Dutch media? Why do you think it is like this?

Box 5.4.3 shows that four assertions were not included in each of the three questionnaires, because these items were not applicable for all groups. For example, the item (B7) on whether or not respondents want a Muslim or an allochtoon as boss was not included in the questionnaire on Moroccan youths, because it is not very realistic to have a youngster as your boss.

5.5 THE SAMPLES

As stated in 5.2, we use three samples. Since we want to compare these samples, it is important to check their similarity. Table 5.5.1 shows the average age of the respondents overall and for each sample separately. The table also shows the minimum and maximum age and the range of the ages.

Table 5.5.1 *Age of respondents versus questionnaire topic.*

	Allochtonen	Muslims	Moroccan youths	All
Mean*	51.7	51.8	51.8	51.8
Std. Deviation	14.9	15.2	15.0	14.8
Minimum	23	22	23	22
Maximum	82	81	80	82
N	101	106	103	310

* n.s difference for questionnaire topic ($F = .03$, $df = 2$, $p = .997$)

Table 5.5.1 shows that the average age and the distribution of the ages of respondents are quite similar in all three samples and there is no statistically significant difference between the mean age and distribution of the ages of the samples. Table 5.5.2 shows the education level of the respondents in all three samples separately. These differences with regard to education level between the three samples are not significant (see table 5.5.2). However, the proportion of respondents with lower education is highest

for respondents who were interviewed about their attitude toward Moroccan youths. The table also shows that all levels of educations are more or less equally represented in the samples.

Table 5.5.2 *Education level of respondents versus questionnaire topic.*

	Alloctonen	Muslims	Moroccan youths	All
Lower ⁵	30%	21%	41%	30%
Average ⁶	33%	48%	28%	37%
Higher ⁷	37%	31%	31%	33%
Total	100% (101)	100% (106)	100% (103)	100% (310)

n.s. difference for questionnaire topic (Kruskal Wallis test: $\chi^2 = 3.08$, $df = 2$, $p = .22$)

From table 5.5.3 it appears that the differences between voting behavior of the respondents in the three samples are significant. CDA-voters are less often represented in the sample in which respondents answered questions about their attitudes toward Muslims. VVD and Groen Links-voters are less often represented in the sample of respondents who answered questions regarding their attitudes toward Moroccan youths. The SP-voters are more often represented in this sample than in the other two samples.

Table 5.5.3 *Voting behavior of respondents versus questionnaire topic.*

Political party	Alloctonen	Muslims	Moroccan youths	All
CDA	25%	13%	23%	20%
PVDA	29%	22%	30%	27%
VVD	14%	20%	9%	14%
SP	7%	7%	15%	9%
LPF	5%	2%	4%	4%
Groen Links	3%	9%	-	4%
D66	2%	6%	4%	4%
Christen Unie / SGP / Other	5%	9%	7%	7%
Did not vote	8%	11%	6%	8%
Do not say / Don't know	3%	3%	3%	3%
Total	100% (101)	100% (106)	100% (103)	100% (310)

Difference for questionnaire topic (Pearson $\chi^2 = 30.81$, $df = 18$, $p = .03$)

Table 5.5.4 shows that by far most respondents read newspapers.

⁵ None, Primary education, Lower vocational education, Middle secondary education

⁶ Middle vocational education, Higher secondary education, Pre-University education

⁷ Higher vocational education, University

Table 5.5.4 *Newspaper reading versus questionnaire topic.*

	Allochtonen	Muslims	Moroccan youths	All
Yes	84%	84%	80%	83%
No	11%	12%	15%	13%
Sometimes	5%	4%	5%	4%
Total	100% (101)	100% (106)	100% (103)	100% (310)

n.s. difference for questionnaire topic ($\chi^2 = 1.27$, $df = 4$, $p = .87$)

The table shows that there are no significant differences between the three samples.

Summarizing, we may conclude that the samples are quite similar and therefore it is possible to compare results between the three samples. There appeared to be two minor differences between the samples. Respondents who answered questions on their attitudes toward Moroccan youths are on average somewhat lower educated than respondents in the other two samples, but this difference was not statistically significant. Moreover, there was a statistically significant difference between the three samples with regard to voting behavior but we do not expect that this difference will cause any major problems with regard to our analyses and inferences. Of course, these differences should be taken into account if we want to compare the measure in which Dutch adults show positive or negative attitudes toward the groups.

5.6 QUESTION ORDER

We stated in section 5.2 that respondents were randomly assigned to the two versions of the questionnaires: Respondents either first reacted to assertions and then answered open questions, or they first answered open questions and then reacted to assertions. In this section, we will check the similarity between these groups by comparing the means of the reactions to assertions, in other words we checked if question order effects occurred.

For those respondents who answered questions about Muslims, there were no statistically significant differences between any of the means on the assertions. This means that question order effects did not occur in this sample. However, we found statistically significant differences between the means of two items on the topic of allochtonen. In both cases, respondents who first answered assertions were more negative toward allochtonen than respondents who first answered open questions. This result indicates that minor question order effects occurred in this sample. However, we did make twenty comparisons and this makes it plausible to expect that these two differences are purely based on chance given a ten percent significance level. We also found statistically significant differences between means of two items

on the topic of Moroccan youths. In one case, respondents who first answered assertions had a more negative attitude with regard to Moroccan youths and in the other case they had a more positive attitude regarding Moroccan youths than respondents who first answered open questions. Again, these differences could purely be based on chance given the use of a ten percent significance level.

So, although we did find some minor differences between the respondents who first answered open questions and those who first answered assertions, we decided to combine the data of these two groups of respondents. This result is in accordance with Van den Berg and Carabain (2003) who also did not find any order effects in their study on traffic jams and asylum seekers in which they also presented open and closed questions in two orders.

5.7 DEVELOPMENT OF THE CODING SCHEME FOR THE ANSWERS TO OPEN QUESTIONS

We developed a coding scheme for the coding of the answers to the open questions. Before we started coding, the interviews were transcribed verbatim. We used Atlas.ti (Muhr, 1997) for the coding of the answers to the open questions. The most important reason for choosing Atlas.ti is the flexibility of its software. Another advantage of Atlas.ti is that it provided us with output that is easily applicable in SPSS. The coding unit was the answer to an open question and the unit of analysis used was always the respondent.

A first set of codes was derived from the results of the pilot study regarding the differentiation of the attitude object. We developed a second set of codes by open coding using Atlas.ti. Strauss and Corbin (1990) defined open coding as “the process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing, and categorizing data” (p.61). This process involved labeling relevant parts or words in the text until the set of codes enables researchers to code all relevant parts or words. Then this set of codes was being applied to all transcripts. This second set of codes focuses on four aspects. The first aspect includes codes that focus on the predicates respondents assigned to the three social groups: allochtonen, Muslims and Moroccan youths. The second aspect focuses on how respondents relate themselves to members of the group. The third aspect focuses on feelings with regard to the different groups. The last aspect focuses on the frame of reference with regard to two terms used in the questions, namely ‘well enough adapted’ and ‘feeling threatened’.

We calculated the inter-coder reliability, Cohen’s kappa (Cohen, 1960), for each group of codes we applied to the answers of the open questions. Following De Vocht (2001), we consider a kappa

higher than .75, as a high degree of agreement. We consider a kappa equal or higher than .4 and lower than .75, as fair to good, and a kappa lower than .4, as poor.

For each set of codes, a random sample of twenty answers was drawn; the writer of this thesis and a fellow researcher coded the selected answers. The intercoder reliability was calculated by checking all agreements between the two coders. Agreement is defined as a situation in which two coders apply the same code of a specific set of codes to a specific coding unit. The intercoder reliability ranged between .48 and .88. These results indicate that all the values for Cohen's kappa ranged between fair and good. The differences between these values can be explained by the fact that some codes were 'easier' for the coders than others. For example, the codes with regard to predicates assigned to the attitude object were harder to code than whether a respondent differentiates the attitude object while answering an open question. The relatively low value in case of predicates is probably due to the large set of codes and thus particular codes could be easier overseen by one of the coders.

We also added some general codes to the transcripts to identify them with regard to the topic of the questionnaire, question order and question numbers. These codes were applied to guide the coders through the transcripts.

To summarize, we developed a coding scheme that enables us to test our hypotheses and answer our research questions. The codes were either derived from theoretical assumptions or from open coding. The codes that were derived from open coding were applied to all relevant answers or words. The reliability of all codes could be considered fair to good.

CHAPTER 6. ON THE STRUCTURE OF ATTITUDES

In this chapter we present the results of our analyses that focus on the structure of the attitudes toward the three groups. We start by reporting these results because in attitude research it is common practice to start analyzing the structure of attitudes and the reliability measures. We decided to follow this pattern of reporting results and thus start by testing our third hypothesis, i.e. a social attitude consists of three components namely a cognitive, an affective and a behavioral intention component. We used the respondents' answers to the closed questions to verify if the three-component model of Eagly and Chaiken (1993) fits our data. By means of an exploratory factor analysis, we developed an alternative model that fits the data better. We will test the fit of this alternative model by means of a second confirmative factor analysis.

6.1 PEARSON CORRELATIONS

We start the analysis by inspecting the Pearson correlations between the items for the three samples. Correlations are based on a pair wise deletion of 'don't know-s'. As a consequence, the number of respondents (n) ranges between 238 and 308 depending on the items⁸. We only used those items that were included in the questionnaires of all three samples. Therefore items C5 (*The presence of allochtonen/Muslims contributes to Dutch society*), C7 (*Moroccan youths are unmanageable*), and C8 (*By far most Muslims are fundamentalistic in their religious beliefs*) were excluded from the analyses.

The correlation matrices of each of the three samples separately can be found in Appendix C. Fifty-two percent of the correlations in the 'allochtonen'-sample are statistically significant at a .01 level. In the 'Muslim'-sample forty-one percent of the correlations are statistically significant at a .01 level and in the 'Moroccan youths'-sample seventy-one percent of the correlations are statistically significant at a .01 level. The average correlation among all items in the 'allochtonen'-sample is .24, in the 'Muslim'-sample the average correlation is .21, and in the 'Moroccan youths' sample it is .33. We also found that item B5 (*I believe that we always have to treat X⁹ the same way as other Dutch people*) and C6 (*X will do anything for*

⁸ Cronbach's alfa (Cronbach, 1951) is based on list wise deletion of 'don't know-s'. As a consequence, substantial parts of the samples are not taken into account. Therefore, Cronbach's alfa runs the risk to overestimate the internal consistency.

⁹ In this chapter, X stands respectively for allochtonen, Muslims or Moroccan youths depending on the questionnaire answered by the respondent.

their family) hardly correlate with the other items. Item C9 (*X are discriminated against on the labor market*) does not correlate very well with the other items in the samples.

To summarize, all samples show that the items C6, C9 and B5 do not correlate well with the other items and therefore might not have measured what we expected them to measure: attitudes toward allochtonen, Muslims or Moroccan youths. If we take a closer look at these items, two remarks can be made. First, item C6 (*X will do anything for their family*) could have been causing problems due to the ambiguity of this item. This item could either be interpreted in a positive way, such as “they really take good care of family members”, or in a negative way, as in “they only care about their family and thus not about Dutch society in general”. Item C9 (*X are discriminated against on the labor market*) and item B5 (*I believe that we always have to treat X in the same way as other Dutch people*), could be dealing, apart from attitudes toward the social groups, also with equality in general. In other words, respondents might have based their answer to this question on their attitude toward equal treatment in general and not on their attitude toward allochtonen, Muslims or Moroccan youths. We decided to exclude the items B5, C6 and C9 from further analysis.

6.2 A THREE-DIMENSIONAL ATTITUDE STRUCTURE

In chapter two we argued that the measurement of attitudes should include questions about three different dimensions: cognitions, behavioral intentions and affect. Therefore, we formulated the assertions based on these three dimensions (see box 5.4.3).

In this chapter, we test this often assumed attitude-structure by conducting a confirmatory factor analysis. We removed item C3 (*By far most X look down on homosexuals*) from the dataset because this item had a very skewed distribution ($M = 4.26$) and this could strongly influence the fit of the model. Figure 6.2.1 shows the assumed relations between the items and the dimensions.

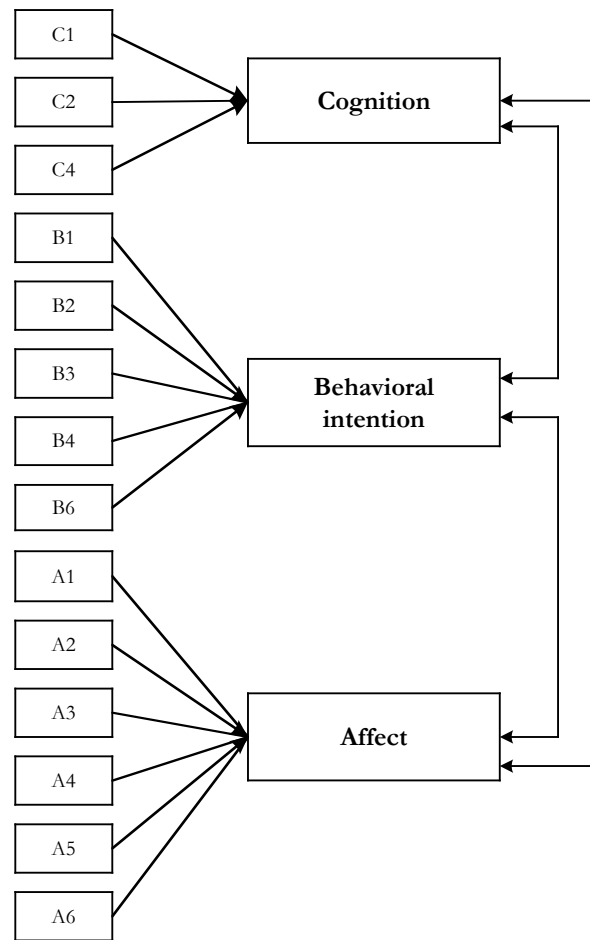


Figure 6.2.1 Assumed relations between items and dimensions

We used LISREL (Joreskog & Sorbom, 1993) to perform the confirmative factor analyses. Table 6.2.1 shows the factor loadings of the items for each of the three samples separately.

Table 6.2.1 *Factor loadings of the items for all three samples*

Item	Allochtonen			Muslims			Moroccan youths		
	1	2	3	1	1	2	1	2	3
C1: By far most X remain aloof from Dutch society.	.56			.41			.55		
C2: By far most X want to adapt to Dutch society.	.61			.69			.76		
C4: By far most X are tolerant with people who think differently.	.60			.66			.66		
B1: When I see a group of X on the street, I always cross the street.*		.48			.55			.48	
B2: I can live in a neighborhood in which the majority of the neighbors are X.		.47			.60			.68	
B3: I rather work with Dutch colleagues than with X colleagues.*		.47			.64			.62	
B4: I can be friends with X.		.47			.36			.53	
B6: It is a problem for me to send my children to a school with a large majority of X children.*		.57			.42			.65	
A1: On the whole I believe X are friendly.			.67			.57			.75
A2: I often get annoyed with the behavior of X on the streets.*			.57			.54			.81
A3: I am uncomfortable sharing a bus ride with a group of X.*			.63			.70			.62
A4: On the whole I consider X are reliable.			.71			.51			.65
A5: I experience the presence of X in the Dutch society as threatening.*			.75			.66			.75
A6: I consider the attitude of X toward other Dutch people positively.			.72			.58			.82

NOTE: Items marked with an asterisk were reverse-coded.

Table 6.2.1 shows that although there are some differences between the three samples. However, the items seem to load reasonably well on the three factors for all three samples. Next, we checked the

correlations between the three factors. Table's 6.2.2 to 6.2.4 show these correlations for all three samples.

Table 6.2.2 *Correlations between factors for allochtonen.*

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Factor 1	1.00		
Factor 2	.81	1.00	
Factor 3	.76	.95	1.00

Table 6.2.3 *Correlations between factors for Muslims.*

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Factor 1	1.00		
Factor 2	.57	1.00	
Factor 3	.78	.94	1.00

Table 6.2.4 *Correlations between factors for Moroccan youths.*

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Factor 1	1.00		
Factor 2	.85	1.00	
Factor 3	.99	.91	1.00

Tables 6.2.2 to 6.2.4 show that generally the three factors are strongly correlated. The factors for the items regarding attitudes toward Moroccan youths correlate strongest. Only factor one (F1) and two (F2) in the sample in which respondents were interviewed about Muslims do not correlate very strongly. We argue that the strength of the correlations between the three factors (compared with the loading of the items on the factor) may be an indicator that the assumed three-dimensional model does not fit our data very well.

In assessing the fit of this three-factor model, we used the χ^2 test. This test is based upon discrepancies between the observed covariance matrices, and the covariance matrices generated by the model. Following recommendations by Hoyle and Panter (1995), we also used three other model-fit indices, namely the Goodness-of-fit index (GFI), the nonnormed fit index (NNFI) and the comparative fit index (CFI).

The GFI is an index of absolute fit (Joreskog & Sorbom, 1993). It provides an estimate of the relative amount of the variance in the data accounted for by the model; it ranges from 0 to 1.0. Higher values of the GFI reflect better fit between the observed data and the implied model. The GFI has no known sampling distribution and this makes the interpretation of the outcome somewhat arbitrary. However, Kelloway (1998) argues that values exceeding 0.9 are indicators of good fit. The NNFI is a Type II index and the CFI is a Type III index. Type II and Type III indices are incremental fit indices that assess model fit differently from the χ^2 test, by showing how much better a particular model fits the data incrementally to a baseline model. The baseline model for Type II and Type III indices is the null model or independence model. This null model specifies no relationships among the variables. The NNFI is based on the central χ^2 distribution, whereas the CFI is based on the non-central χ^2

distribution. Just as the GFI, higher values for the CFI and NNFI reflect better fit between the observed model and the implied model, with values above 0.9 being desirable (Kelloway, 1998). The CFI and NNFI have, like the GFI, no known sampling distribution.

Table 6.2.5 *Values of the fit indices for the three-factor model.*

	χ^2	Df	P	GFI	NNFI	CFI
Alloctonen	118.97	74	<.001	.86	.86	.89
Muslims	146.10	74	<.001	.80	.76	.80
Moroccan youths	136.36	74	<.001	.84	.89	.91

Table 6.2.5 shows the values of the fit indices for the three samples. All these fit indices lead to the same conclusion, that is, that generally; the model fits the data poorly. There seems to be a relation between the topic of the questionnaire and the fit of the model. The sample regarding attitudes toward Muslims seems to have the poorest fit between the observed model and the implied model. In contrast, the CFI and NNFI of the model for items regarding Moroccan youths indicate a reasonable model fit.

To summarize, our assumed three-factor model fits the data poorly, especially for the sample in which respondents were asked questions about their attitude towards Muslims. This indicates that an attitude structure with three components i.e., affect, cognition and behavior, does not hold in our samples and thus we are not able to accept our third hypothesis. The factors are also highly correlated in comparison with the loading of the items on the factors. To gain more insight into the structure of the attitudes, we decided to perform an explorative factor analysis on the data to check whether the items are related to other factors than the ones we assumed.

6.3 AN EXPLORATIVE FACTOR ANALYSIS

The next step in the analysis is an explorative factor analysis on the items. Table 6.3.1 shows the results of this analysis. We used the criterion of Kaiser (1960) to determine how many factors to include in these tables. So, the two factors included have Eigenvalues larger than 1. Since there is no reason to assume that the resulting two factors are unrelated, we choose an oblique rotation, more precisely, an Oblimin rotation (Cliff, 1987).

Table 6.3.1 *Pattern matrix for the three samples.*

Item	Allochtonen		Muslims		Moroccan youths	
	1	2	1	2	1	2
C1: By far most X remain aloof from Dutch society.	-.24	.74	.11	.38	.88	-.33
C2: By far most X want to adapt to Dutch society.	.21	.64	.06	.79	.61	.26
C4: By far most X are tolerant with people who think differently.	-.15	.74	.07	.74	.71	.03
B1: When I see a group of X on the street, I always cross the street.*	.86	-.04	.91	-.05	.07	.60
B2: I can live in a neighborhood in which the majority of the neighbors is X.	.36	.23	.20	.35	.58	.19
B3: I rather work with Dutch colleagues than with X colleagues.*	.19	-.11	.47	.19	.33	.40
B4: I can be friends with X.	-.18	.04	-.07	.07	-.10	.84
B6: It is a problem for me to send my children to a school with a large majority of X children.*	.27	.70	.19	-.14	.77	-.10
A1: On the whole I believe X are friendly.	.25	.23	.29	.45	.65	.20
A2: I often get annoyed with the behavior of X on the streets.*	.68	.03	.69	-.12	.59	.38
A3: I am uncomfortable sharing a bus ride with a group of X.*	.75	-.03	.66	.19	.10	.75
A4: On the whole I consider X are reliable.	.22	.36	-.15	.74	.67	.07
A5: I experience the presence of X in the Dutch society as threatening.*	.35	.18	.75	.04	.48	.44
A6: I consider the attitude of X toward other Dutch people positively.	.18	.52	-.01	.79	.56	.40
Eigenvalue	5.2	1.5	4.7	1.8	6.6	1.3
Explained variance	37%	10%	33%	13%	47%	9%

NOTE: Items marked with an asterisk were reverse-coded.

Bold printed loadings have an absolute value of .35 or more.

We start by looking at the items that significantly load on any of the two factors. The first remark we want to make is that the items that load on the factor that explains most variance, differ depending on the sample. For example, items C1, C2 and C4 load on the factor that explains most variance in the sample regarding Muslims, and the same items load on the second factor in the sample regarding Moroccan youths. The second remark is that it seems reasonable to distinguish the two factors based on the content of the items loading on these factors.

One of the factors is mainly related to evaluative statements that reflect what respondents think of the social group without including themselves in those thoughts. This factor could be described as the image respondents have about the group they are evaluating. In contrast, the other factor is mainly connected to items that all include a reference to a relation between the respondent and (members of)

the social group. So instead of just talking about the other, these items focus on the relation between the respondents and the group. In some respects, this factor reminds us of the social distance-scale of Bogardus (1925). However, there are some items that do not fit in with this conceptual distinction. Therefore, we take a closer look at the three samples taken together.

First, we look at the content of the items loading on the two factors regarding the sample of respondents who answered questions about allochtonen. The correlation between the two factors is .32. Looking at the content of the items that load strongly on the factors, the first factor includes items regarding the relation between the respondent and allochtonen and the second factor includes items regarding the image respondents have of allochtonen. There is one problem with regards to this classification of the items and that is item B6 (*It is a problem for me to send my children to a school with a large majority of allochtonen children*). This item loads on the factor in which the other items are about image of the group. In this sample, items B3 (*I rather work with Dutch colleagues than with allochtonen as colleagues*), B4 (*I can be friends with allochtonen*) and A1 (*On the whole I believe allochtonen are friendly*) load weakly on both factors.

In the sample of respondents who were interviewed about Muslims the first factor loads items about the relationship between the respondent and Muslims and the second factor includes items about the image respondents have of Muslims. The correlation between the two factors is .31. In this sample item B6 (*It is a problem for me to send my children to a school with a large majority of Muslim children*) and B4 (*I can be friends with Muslims*) do not load well on both factors.

Finally, in the sample about Moroccan youths, the first factor includes items regarding the image respondents have of Moroccan youths and the second factor includes items regarding the relation between the respondent and Moroccan youths. In this sample the correlation between the two factors is .46. Again, item B6 (*It is a problem for me to send my children to a school with a large majority of Moroccan children*) loads on the factor that in general loads items about images of Moroccan youths.

To summarize, our goal of performing these explorative factor analyses was to find out if the items are posed on different dimensions than the assumed 'cognitive', 'behavior' and 'affect' dimensions. The results of these explorative factor analyses indicate that it seems more reasonable to assume two other dimensions, namely a dimension that includes items on the image respondents have of the group and another dimension that includes items on the relationship between the respondent and the group. There is one problem with this alternative structure and that is item B6 (*It is a problem for me to send my children to a school with a large majority of X children*). This item does not load on the dimension we expected it to load, namely the dimension regarding the relationship between the respondent and

members of the group. Instead, the item loads on the factor that holds items about the images of the group. This is probably due to the fact that not all respondents have children themselves and thus consider this assertion as a hypothetical situation that is far away from their own situation. That is why we decided to remove this item from our further analyses.

6.4 A TWO-DIMENSIONAL ATTITUDE STRUCTURE

In this section, we test the new model using confirmative factor analysis. That is, a model that contains two dimensions, namely one dimension that includes items regarding the image of the group and a second dimension that includes items regarding the relationship between the respondent and members of the group. In order to test a new model new data are required to avoid the risk of capitalization of chance. Unfortunately, this is not possible. Therefore we must be cautious in interpreting results of our 'test' using the same data. The first factor contains the items C1, C2, C4, A1, A4 and A6. The second factor includes seven items, namely B1, B2, B3, B4, A2, A3 and A5 (see figure 6.4.1).

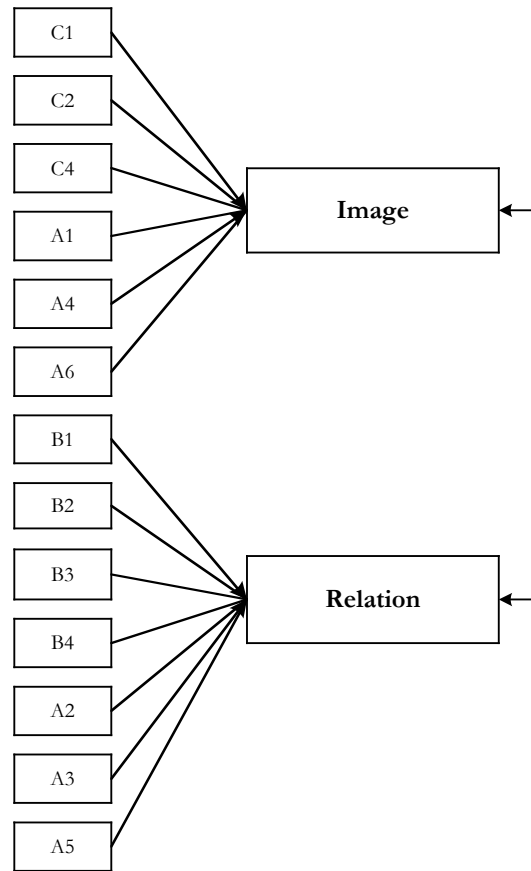


Figure 6.4.1 Assumed relations between items and dimensions

Table 6.4.1 shows that although there are differences between the three samples, the items load stronger on the factors than in our three dimensional model. The correlation between the two factors is .84 for items regarding allochtonen, .56 for items regarding Muslims and .88 for items regarding Moroccan youths. Since we found a high correlation between the two factors for the sample regarding Muslims and Moroccan youths, we checked if a one-component model fits the data better than the two-component model based on the results of the explorative factor analysis. The results of this analyses show that the one-component model did not fit the data better.

Table 6.4.1 *Factor loadings of the items in the samples for the new two-dimensional model.*

Items	Allochtonen		Muslims		Moroccan youths	
	1	2	1	2	1	2
C1: By far most X remain aloof from Dutch society.	.44		.39		.55	
C2: By far most X want to adapt to Dutch society.	.53		.68		.78	
C4: By far most X are tolerant toward people who think differently.	.55		.66		.66	
A1: In my opinion, generally, X are friendly.	.68		.50		.78	
A4: On the whole I consider X reliable.	.71		.68		.66	
A6: I consider the attitude of X toward other Dutch people positively.	.76		.76		.83	
B1: If I see a group of X on the streets, I always cross the street.*		.54		.61		.53
B2: I can live in a neighborhood in which the majority of the neighbors are X.		.44		.52		.61
B3: I rather work with Dutch colleagues than with X colleagues.*		.50		.56		.59
B4: I can be friends with X.		.45		.32		.55
A2: I often get annoyed by behavior of X on the streets.*		.63		.62		.83
A3: I am uncomfortable sharing a bus ride with a group of X.*		.70		.77		.67
A5: I experience the presence of X in the Dutch society as threatening.*		.74		.75		.79

NOTE: Items marked with an asterisk were reverse-coded.

Table 6.4.2 provides the set of fit indices for the two-factor model. The χ^2 test indicates a reasonable fit for the sample in which respondents answered questions on their attitudes toward Muslims. In general, the GFI, NNFI and CFI indicate that this two-factor model fits the data at least reasonably well. The model fits best in the case in which the respondents were asked questions on their attitudes toward Moroccan youths.

Table 6.4.2 *Fit indices for the two-factor model.*

	χ^2	Df	P	GFI	NNFI	CFI
Allochtonen	92.58	64	.011	.87	.90	.92
Muslims	92.97	64	.010	.88	.91	.93
Moroccan youths	88.17	64	.024	.89	.95	.96

The two-factor model fits the data better than the three-factor model for all three samples. We also found a difference between the three samples regarding the strength of the correlations between the two factors: in the sample in which respondents were asked their attitude toward Muslims, the factors

correlate lower than in the other two samples. This could imply that the image respondents have of Muslims and the relation they have with them are more in disagreement than with the other two groups.

6.5 CONCLUSION

The results presented in this chapter indicate that the assumed three-component model did not fit our data very well. This leads to the conclusion that we are not able to accept our third hypothesis that states that an attitude consists of three components. Those three components are cognition, affect and behavioral intentions. Instead, we came up with a different attitude structure. This structure includes two components. Those components are evaluation aspects of the general images the respondent has about the attitude object, i.e. the social group in question and the way respondent evaluates his/her relation with the attitude object, i.e. the social group in question and/or members of this group. A last result is that the correlations between these two factors depend on the topic of the questionnaire. However, we have to put the results of this chapter in its context. First, we are aware of the fact that we have performed the explorative and confirmative factor analyses with regard to the two-component model on the same data. Of course, the results would be much stronger if we had performed this confirmative factor analysis on different data. However, this was not an option in this study because of limitations in both time and finances, but it will be interesting for future studies. Second, several studies have been conducted on the influence of response effects and answering styles of respondents on the modeling of data (e.g. Billiet & McKee McClendon, 2000; Moors, 2004). The purpose of this type of studies is to find out whether the factors are an artificial effect of answer styles or response effects. Notwithstanding, the importance of these studies, in this study we will use a different approach to check if our findings hold. Instead of using a quantitative approach, we will use the answers to open questions to corroborate the assumed distinction between the two dimensions. Besides, we will also use these answers to acquire understanding of the topic dependency of the correlations between the two factors.

CHAPTER 7. ATTITUDE STRUCTURE: A QUALITATIVE APPROACH

In this chapter we will use the answers to open questions to gain insight into some aspects of the structure of attitudes. The results of our quantitative analysis indicated a new conceptualization of how social attitudes are structured. This structure includes two factors in which one factor focuses on the image respondents have about the social group and the other factor focuses on the relation between the respondent and (members of) the social group. We start by checking whether the assumed distinction between the two factors is also found in the answers to the open questions. Also, we want to explore the topic dependency of the relation between the image of the group and the perceived relation between the respondent and (members of) the group.

First, we check if respondents spontaneously make a distinction between images of the group and how they relate themselves to (members of) the group and if remarks about their relations with (members of) the group are in agreement with the image they verbalize about the group.

7.1 DISTINCTION BETWEEN IMAGE AND RELATION

We will use the answers of the respondents to the first open question: “What image comes to your mind when you think of the word ‘(allochtonen’, ‘Muslims’, ‘Moroccan youths’)’?” Respondents are invited to talk freely about the attitude object while answering this first question. We started by coding whether respondents spontaneously made a distinction between their image of the group and their relation with (members of) the group. When respondents made a remark about a relation with the members of the various groups, we coded whether this remark was in accordance with the image(s) they describe. So we used three codes ‘no remarks made’, ‘image is in accordance with relation’ and ‘image and relation are in contrast with each other’ (Cohen’s kappa = .83) We encountered a problem when coding if the description of the relation was in accordance or in contrast with the image. This problem occurred when respondents described contradicting images about the social group they were interviewed about. We solved this by using the following coding rule: if remarks about relations with (members of) the group are in accordance with at least one of the images verbalized by the respondent, the code will be: in accordance.

Table 7.1.1 demonstrates that there is quite a difference between the three samples in whether respondents included remarks about a relation with (members of) the group in their answer to the first

open questions. Respondents who answered questions on Moroccan youths were more likely to include these remarks. More precisely 65% of the respondents included these remarks in their answers. Forty-one percent of the respondents who were interviewed about allochtonen included such a remark and only 36% of the respondents who were talking about Muslims did so.

Table 7.1.1 *Presence of remarks about a relation.*

	Yes	No	Total
Allochtonen	41%	59%	100% (n= 82)
Muslims	36%	64%	100% (n= 97)
Moroccan youths	65%	35%	100% (n= 86)

Difference for questionnaire topic (Pearson $\chi^2 = 16.97$, $df = 2$, $p < .01$)

In general about half of the respondents (47%) made remarks about their image and their relationship with (members of) the group. In box 7.1.1 we present an example of an answer of a respondent who spontaneously makes a distinction between the image of the attitude object and her relation with the attitude object. In this example the image of the group is in accordance with the described relation with the group.

Box 7.1.1 Example of an answer in which the image is in accordance with the described relation.

<p>I: What image comes to your mind when you think of the words ‘Moroccan youths’?</p> <p>R: Fear.</p> <p>I: Anything else?</p> <p>R: Yes, brief and to the point: fear. At this moment, I cross the street.</p> <p>I: Can you explain this?</p> <p>R: Their attitude, they just have an aggressive attitude and other foreigners also have this attitude, but they also. In the part where I live it is quite dreadful, really. Something bad will not happen, but if they walk toward you and just before you they reach you they turn left. I find that scary.</p> <p>I: [Yes.]</p> <p>R: The group who is living here does this.</p> <p>I: Do you want to elaborate on that?</p> <p>R: Yes, they walk here in the tunnel etc and stand with a football, and it is just their attitude. Of course, they could also just play soccer, but that I don’t know and I find it very difficult but also scary.</p>	<p>I: Welk beeld roepen de woorden ‘Marokkaanse jongeren’ bij u op?</p> <p>R: Angst.</p> <p>I: En verder?</p> <p>R: Ja kort maar krachtig angst. Ik ga er met een boog omheen, op het moment.</p> <p>I: Kunt u dat uitleggen?</p> <p>R: Hun houding, ze hebben gewoon een agressieve houding, en andere buitenlanders ook wel maar hun ook. In het stuk waar ik woon hier is het best wel erg, echt. Echt iets ergs zal er niet van komen maar ze komen op af je af vlak voor je gaan ze dan naar links. Dat vind ik gewoon eng.</p> <p>I: [Ja.]</p> <p>R: Die groep die hier woont doet dat.</p> <p>I: Wilt u daar nog meer over zeggen?</p> <p>R: Ja, die lopen hier ook onder de tunnel enzo door en staan hierzo met een voetbal. En het is gewoon hun houding. Ze kunnen natuurlijk ook gewoon aan het voetballen zijn maar ik weet niet dat vind ik heel moeilijk maar ik vind het eng.</p>
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In this example, the respondent makes a clear distinction between the image she has of Moroccan youths and her relation with members of the group. She describes a negative image of Moroccan youths and her own relation with members of this group is also negative.

The next example shows an answer of a respondent who does not refer to a relation with Muslims. It is not a surprise that not all respondents make a reference to their relation to the group, since respondents were not explicitly asked for this.

Box 7.1.2 Example of an answer without a reference to a relation with the group.

<p>I: What image comes to your mind when you think of the word 'Muslims'?</p> <p>R: Uhm, colored people. Uhm, yes, the clothes maybe.</p> <p>I: Mh mh.</p> <p>R: And women in those burquas. The patronizing way in which you hear how men treat their women. That they dominate them. How humble these women are.</p> <p>I: Mh mh</p> <p>R: Uhm, especially those women who cannot learn the, the language. Don't want to or not allowed to. Those who do not cross their own doorstep. So uhm often even if they have lived here for twenty years that they don't still really know the language.</p> <p>I: Mh mh.</p> <p>R: I read something in the newspaper the other day, also about uhm women that have to be interpreted by their children, if they for example have to go to a gynecologist or something.</p> <p>I: [Yes]</p> <p>R: That seems terrible to me. That's what you think about then. Then they must not have too much respect for you afterwards I think. I think. Those are really very intimate things. And yes what else? And for the rest nothing really, I believe, no.</p>	<p>I: Welk beeld roept het woord 'moslims' bij u op?</p> <p>R: Uhm, donkere mensen. Uhm, ja, de kleding misschien.</p> <p>I: Mh mh.</p> <p>R: En vrouwen in die burka's. De neerbuigendheid waarmee je hoort hoe mannen hun vrouwen behandelen. Dat ze hun domineren. Het nederige van die vrouwen.</p> <p>I: Mh mh</p> <p>R: Uhm, vooral van die vrouwen niet de de taal eigenlijk uhm te kunnen leren. Niet willen of niet mogen. Die niet verder dan de deur komen. Dus uhm vaak ook al wonen ze hier twintig jaar dat ze de taal nog niet eigenlijk kennen.</p> <p>I: Mh mh.</p> <p>R: Ik las laatst een stukje in de krant, ook over dat uhm vrouwen die getolkt moeten worden door hun kinderen. Als ze bijvoorbeeld naar een gynaecoloog moeten ofzo.</p> <p>I: [Ja]</p> <p>R: Dat lijkt me ook verschrikkelijk. Daar denk je dan aan. Dan moeten ze dus denk ik naderhand ook niet al teveel respect meer voor je hebben. Denk ik. Dat zijn toch wel heel intieme dingen. En ja wat nog meer? En verder eigenlijk niet, denk ik, nee.</p>
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In this example the respondent is clearly only talking about the image she has about Muslims in The Netherlands and does not make any reference to a personal relation with Muslims.

Summarizing, in talking about a social group, a substantial part of the respondents described the image of the group and also described their own position in the relation with members to the group. This result is in line with the two-factor model. Although, we are aware that only half of the respondents made this distinction spontaneously. The examples in this section also show that there is a

clear difference between the answers of respondents who did, and those who did not, include a reference to a relation with members of the group in their answer.

7.2 ACCORDANCE AND CONTRAST BETWEEN THE IMAGE AND THE RELATION

Now, we want to find out if respondents mentioned a relation with the group, whether this is in accordance or in contrast with their image of the group. Our quantitative results show differences between the strength of the correlation between the two factors depending on the topic of the questionnaire. The two factors in the sample regarding attitudes toward Moroccan youths correlate very strongly (.88). This is in contrast with the two factors of the 'Muslim'-sample which correlate way much weaker (.56). The factors in the sample regarding allochtonen correlate .80. In this section, we are going to confront these quantitative results with the analyses of responses respondents gave to the open questions. We do so to try to find an explanation for the difference in the strength of the correlations between the factors in the three samples.

In the previous section we presented an example in which the image of the group was in accordance with the relation between the respondent and (members of) the group (box 7.1.1). Next, we present an example in which the image about the group is in contrast with how this respondent evaluates her relation with a member of the group.

Box 7.2.1 Example of an answer in which the image is in contrast with the described relation.

<p>I: What image comes to your mind when you think of the words 'Moroccan youths'?</p> <p>R: Yes, the image of the discussion that is going on now. Yes indeed, and yes about crime and Moroccan youths, are not very positive in first instance indeed.</p> <p>I: No?</p> <p>R: Because it is in the news, you know.</p> <p>I: Yes</p> <p>R: (laughs) For the rest I know I believe I know one Moroccan girl and that is a really sweet girl, she comes to baby-sit here sometimes. So for the rest I don't have any prejudice against Moroccan youths, but when you say it like that then I think about yes that discussion.</p>	<p>I: Welk beeld roepen de woorden 'Marokkaanse jongeren' bij u op?</p> <p>R: Ja, het beeld dat discussie nu gaande is inderdaad. En ja, over criminaliteit en Marokkaanse jongeren, worden best uhm niet al te positief in eerste instantie inderdaad.</p> <p>I: Nee?</p> <p>R: Omdat het in het nieuws is zeg maar.</p> <p>I: Ja.</p> <p>R: (lacht) Verder ik ken ik ken denk ik één Marokkaans meisje en dat is een hartstikke lieve meid, die komt hier wel eens oppassen. Dus verder heb ik helemaal geen vooroordeel tegen Marokkaanse jongeren, maar als je het zo zegt dan denk ik ja die discussie.</p>
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In the example above, the respondent starts by describing a more or less negative image that comes to her mind thinking of Moroccan youths, but later on she refers to having a really nice Moroccan

babysitter. In this example, the respondent is making a distinction between her image of Moroccan youths and her own relation with a member of the group. Moreover, the negative image she describes and her positive relation with a particular member of the group are in contrast with each other.

Now, we will check whether there is a relation between the topics of the questionnaire and whether respondents described a relationship that was in agreement or in contrast with the image respondents described. In table 7.2.1 we only report those respondents who included references to the image they have about the social group and their relation with the social group.

Table 7.2.1 *Accordance and contrasts between the image of the group and relationship with the group.*

	Accordance	Contrast	Total
Allochtonen	41%	59%	100% (n=34)
Muslims	60%	40%	100% (n=35)
Moroccan youths	80%	20%	100% (n=56)

Difference for questionnaire topic (Pearson $\chi^2 = 16.97$, $df = 2$, $p = .001$)

Table 7.2.1 demonstrates that the large majority (80%) of the respondents who talked about Moroccan youths included a reference to a relation with them that is in accordance with their image of this group. In contrast, only 41% of the respondents who talked about allochtonen included a reference to a relation with (members of) the group that is in accordance with their image. Sixty percent of the respondents did this when they talked about Muslims. This last result differs from our expectation, because this result does not explain the weak correlation between the two factors in our confirmatory factor analysis. After all, based on our results of the quantitative data, we expected that the image and the relation respondents described were more likely to be in accordance with each other if respondents talked about Moroccan youths and allochtonen. This result could also be an artifact of our coding scheme. As we will see in the next chapter, quite a lot of the respondents verbalized contradicting images about subgroups of Muslims while answering the question and when respondents do this, the relationship is always in accordance with one of the images, leaving no room for contradictions between the image and the relation between the respondent and members of the group. We argue that this is a very plausible reason why we did not find the results we expected regarding the weak correlations between the two factors. We did encounter the same situation with regard to respondents talking about allochtonen and Moroccan youths, but the number of respondents who did so was smaller than respondents talking about Muslims. This finding points to the question of how respondents frame the three social groups. That is the main question to be discussed in the next chapter.

7.3 CONCLUSION

The results presented in this chapter indicate that we found some additional evidence for the new attitude structure we presented in chapter six. However, this evidence is only based on the answers of about half of the respondents. Half of the respondents who were asked about their image of the social group they were interviewed about tend to make a distinction between the image they have about the group and their relation with (members of) the group. Moreover, they did this in a situation where they were actually just asked about their image of the group. So these respondents spontaneously make a distinction between their image and their relation with members of the social group. We used this information to corroborate our new attitude structure regarding social attitudes.

The results presented in this chapter also give us some cues to interpret the observed differences between the three samples. The results also partly explain the differences between the correlations of the factors we found in our second confirmatory factor analyses (Chapter 6, section 6.4). The factors of the items regarding Moroccan youths correlated highly (.88) and respondents who answered the question on the image they have with regard to Moroccan youths in The Netherlands were not only more likely to make remarks about a relation with Moroccan youths, but these remarks were also more likely to be in accordance with the image they described than respondents who answered the same question with regard to Muslims or allochtonen in The Netherlands. So, the results of these qualitative analyses do not only confirm the results of our quantitative analysis, but also give insight on how some differences between the samples should be interpreted.

However, the results presented in this chapter do not explain the weak correlation between the factors regarding Muslims and the fact that the majority of the respondents describe an image of allochtonen that is in contrast with the personal relation they describe. A closer look at the answers to the first open question reveals some insights. Respondents described contradicting images of subgroups with regard to Muslims, and regarding allochtonen, respondents were also clearly talking about different subgroups of allochtonen.

The existence of contradicting and various images indicate that respondents may frame social groups in a way that does not fit in with the assumptions of an unambiguous attitude object. In the next chapter, we are going to try to gain more insight into this framing of the attitude object.

CHAPTER 8. ON THE BASIC ASSUMPTIONS OF ATTITUDE RESEARCH

In this chapter, we present our results about the conditions under which the basic assumptions of attitude research hold. First, we are going to take a closer look at the attitude-object. As we already stated in the previous chapters, we consider the attitude object as the crucial concept in attitude research. The underlying assumptions in attitude research using closed questions to measure attitudes is that the respondents attach a univocal denotative meaning to the attitude object and that all respondents assign the same denotative univocal meaning to the attitude object as presented in the questionnaire. After all, we want to compare the evaluations of this object, and this comparison would be useless if we compare evaluations of different objects. A large part of this chapter will focus on the question when this basic assumption holds.

The question now is: How can we gauge whether respondents assign a univocal denotative meaning to the social group? And also: How can we gain insight into whether there is consensus among respondents about this univocal denotative meaning? We will start by looking at the predicates that respondents spontaneously assigned to the social group. This first step is an inventory of these predicates.

The second step will be the testing of our first hypotheses about the univocal denotative meaning of the attitude object using the following indicators: 1) the number of differences among members of the social group (hypotheses 1a and 1b); 2) whether the predicates respondents assigned to the social group include contradictions regarding subgroups of the social group (hypotheses 1a and 1b); and 3) whether respondents expressed mixed feelings with regard to the social group (hypothesis 1c and 1d). We test our hypotheses concerning the consensus among respondents about the univocal denotative meaning of the attitude object (2a and 2b) by analyzing the variation of the type of predicates respondents assigned to the social groups.

We end this chapter by presenting two examples in which we are going to check the impact of operational problems on the interpretation of the results in attitude research.

8.1 PREDICATES ASSIGNED TO THE ATTITUDE OBJECT

To gain insight into respondents' frames of reference of the attitude object, we start taking inventory of and reporting the different predicates that respondents assigned spontaneously to allochtonen, Muslims

and Moroccan youths in The Netherlands, respectively. We generated these codes by open coding using Atlas.ti (Muhr, 1997) on a subset of the samples. We later applied these codes to all transcripts. The inter-coder reliability of these codes is rather low (Cohen's kappa = .48). This is probably due to the variety of different predicates. As a consequence, some predicates were easier overseen.

Table 8.1.1 shows the inventory of the predicates that respondents assigned to these three social groups. We define predicates as characteristics used by respondents in describing the attitude object. We have to mention that not all predicates are applicable for all groups, but still this inventory gives an important and interesting insight in the frames of reference of respondents about these different groups. We divided the predicates into six categories that are 'nationalities/origin', 'religion', 'motives for immigration', 'physical characteristics', 'positive behavior or personality characteristics' and 'negative behavior and personality characteristics'. The table demonstrates that respondents vary in the predicates they mentioned, depending on the topic of the questionnaire.

Table 8.1.1 *Predicates assigned to the groups (Cohen's kappa = .48)*

	Allochtonen	Muslims	Moroccan youths
Code	Percentage (n = 81)	Percentage (n = 93)	Percentage (n = 90)
Nationalities/Origin			
(North-) Africans	14%	5%	-
Antilleans	11%	-	n/a ¹⁰
Arabs	5%	4%	n/a
Asians	20%	5%	n/a
Eastern Europeans	9%	-	n/a
Moroccans	64%	23%	n/a
Moroccan youths	9%	1%	n/a
Not western	2%	-	-
Surinamese	20%	2%	n/a
South Europeans	5%	2%	n/a
Turks	68%	25%	n/a
Immigrants with Western origins	19%	-	n/a
South Americans	1%	-	n/a
Foreigners	42%	8%	-
Persons who are not born in The Netherlands	1%	-	-
Motives for immigration			
Guest workers	12%	1%	-
Persons that are illegal in The Netherlands	2%	-	-
Refugees	16%	-	-
Religion			
People who are devoted to their religious beliefs	-	3%	-
People who are Extremists in their religious beliefs	33%	70%	12%

¹⁰ n/a = not applicable

Table 8.1.1 (continued) *Predicates assigned to the groups (Cohen's kappa = .48)*

	Allochtonen	Muslims	Moroccan youths
Code	Percentage (n = 81)	Percentage (n = 93)	Percentage (n = 90)
People who are moderate in their religious beliefs	20%	74%	3%
Muslims	30%	n/a	2%
Physical characteristics			
Colored people ('Blacks')	26%	2%	4%
Other physical characteristics	2%	1%	1%
Positive behavior or personality characteristics			
Just youngsters	n/a	n/a	22%
People who try to adapt to Dutch society	19%	10%	14%
People who are well-behaved	-	-	1%
People who are friendly	-	-	1%
Negative behavior of personality characteristics			
People who behave arrogantly	-	-	2%
People who are aggressive	1%	-	16%
People who remain aloof from Dutch society	21%	10%	12%
People who behave badly	-	1%	1%
Youngsters that cluster on the streets	4%	1%	28%
Criminals	4%	-	9%
People who are threatening	-	2%	2%
People who have gone wild	-	-	4%
People who behave hostile	-	-	1%
People who are less rational than Dutch people	1%	-	-
People who cause problems	-	-	3%
Profiteers	2%	1%	1%
Terrorists	-	1%	1%
People who are unpleasant	-	5%	-

The percentages in this table represent the percentage of respondents in each sample who assigned a certain predicate to the social group.

First, we can conclude that in the case of allochtonen, all types of predicates were mentioned, thus predicates with regard to 'nationalities/origin', 'religion', 'motives for immigration', 'physical characteristics', 'positive behavior or personality characteristics' and 'negative behavior and personality characteristics'. Two nationalities were clearly more mentioned than the other ones, i.e. Moroccans and Turks. This may lead to the conclusion that respondents who answered questions about allochtonen are most likely to talk about Moroccans and/or Turks. In that sense, Moroccans and Turks are often viewed as the prototypical allochtonen. However, the table also shows that respondents mentioned a lot of other predicates, such as 'Asians', 'blacks', 'extremists', 'foreigners', 'Muslims', 'refugees' and people from Suriname. The fact that all these predicates were mentioned gives insight into the variety of predicates with regard to allochtonen mentioned by respondents.

Respondents also mentioned a wide variety of predicates when they were interviewed about Muslims, but there appears to be a difference when we compare this list with the list of predicates assigned to allochtonen. Almost 70% of the respondents talked about moderate and extreme Muslims.

The table (8.1.1) also illustrates that respondents who answered open questions about Moroccan youths in The Netherlands ascribe different kinds of predicates to this social group than respondents who talked about allochtonen and Muslims in The Netherlands. The majority of predicates respondents mentioned concern negative behavioral and personality characteristics.

To summarize, this inventory of predicates that respondents assigned to the social groups provided us with a first insight into the frames of reference used by respondents to answer questions about allochtonen, Muslims and Moroccan youths, respectively. The results also indicate that the type of predicates mentioned depend on the questionnaire topic. Part of this difference is a side effect of the names of the group in question. For example, in the case of 'Moroccan youths' the absence of predicates regarding nationalities is a logical consequence of the fact that the term 'Moroccan' already includes a nationality. Still, this inventory already shows some patterns on which we will elaborate on later in this chapter. For example, respondents who were interviewed about their attitude toward Muslims are most likely to assign two predicates toward this group: moderate and extreme Muslims.

8.2 UNIVOCAL DENOTATIVE MEANING OF THE ATTITUDE OBJECT

In this section, we start by analyzing whether respondents attach a univocal denotative meaning to the attitude object. We will use three indicators of (non-)univocalness:

1. The number of triggered differences among members of the social group: if respondents express more differences among members of the social group, we consider this as an indicator of a less univocal denotative meaning;
2. The measure in which predicates assigned to the social group include contradictions regarding subgroups of the social groups: if respondents include contradictions regarding subgroups of the social group; we also consider this as an indicator of a less univocal denotative meaning;
3. The measure in which respondents express mixed feelings with regard to the social group; if respondents express mixed feelings, we consider this also as an indicator of a less univocal denotative meaning.

Our hypotheses regarding the univocal denotative meaning of the attitude object are:

- 1a. Respondents who are talking about Moroccan youths are more likely to attach one univocal denotative meaning to this group than respondents who are talking about Muslims.
- 1b. Respondents who are talking about Moroccan youths are more likely to attach one univocal denotative meaning to this group than respondents who are talking about allochtonen.
- 1c. Respondents who express feelings toward Moroccan youths are less likely to express mixed feelings than respondents who express feelings toward Muslims.
- 1d. Respondents who express feelings toward Moroccan youths are less likely to express mixed feelings than respondents who express feelings toward allochtonen.

In this section we will test these four hypotheses by using the three indicators mentioned above.

8.2.1 NUMBER OF TRIGGERED DIFFERENCES

In our questionnaire, open question four (O4) focused on the differences among members of the social group: “According to you, are there differences among (allochtonen, Muslims, Moroccan youths)?” We expect that respondents report fewer differences when they assign a more univocal denotative meaning to the social group in question. Table 8.2.1 shows the number of differences that respondent mentioned for each questionnaire topic.

Table 8.2.1 *Number of differences mentioned by respondent among members of the social group.*

Group	Allochtonen	Muslims	Moroccan youths
No differences	5%	5%	27%
One difference	14%	54%	39%
Two differences	23%	32%	21%
Three differences	28%	4%	8%
Four differences	21%	2%	3%
Five differences	9%	2%	1%
N	81	94	89

The modes are bold printed

Difference for questionnaire topic (Kruskal Wallis test: $\chi^2 = 62.08$, $df = 2$, $p < .01$)

The table above demonstrates that the number of differences mentioned among members of the group, depends on the topic of the questionnaire. The mode for respondents who mentioned differences

among allochtonen is three. In the case of differences among Muslims and Moroccan youths, the mode is one. However, a substantial amount of respondents did not mention any differences among Moroccan youths (27%), while only five percent of the respondents did not mention any differences among Muslims. There is a significant difference between the three questionnaire topics.

Summarizing, these results show some evidence for the confirmation of hypothesis 1b, i.e. respondents who are talking about Moroccan youths are more likely to attach a univocal denotative meaning of this group than respondents who are talking about allochtonen. Since, respondents mentioned more differences among allochtonen than among Moroccan youths. The results also show some evidence for the confirmation of hypothesis 1a: respondents who are talking about Moroccan youths are more likely to attach a univocal denotative meaning to this group than respondents who are talking about Muslims. Although the mode in both samples is the same, respondents were more likely not to mention any differences among Moroccan youths than about Muslims.

8.2.2 CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN PREDICATES

In section 8.1, we concluded that respondents ascribed different types of predicates to the social groups presented in the questionnaire. Moreover, the number of predicates also depends on the topic of the questionnaire. However, the number of differences is not a very strong indicator of the univocalness. Respondents may describe differences between subgroups of the social group in question, but at the same time, they may do so because of a common denominator of those subgroups.

In this section, we are going to focus on contradicting predicates assigned to the (sub) groups. We are going to check whether the predicates respondents assigned to the group included contrapositions toward the (sub) groups. For example, respondents may have contradicting opinions about moderate and extreme Muslims. Predicates that are in agreement with each other could be seen as specifications of the group, or as specifications of physical, behavioral or personality characteristics of the group. *Nota bene*, we excluded contrapositions that clearly indicated that they were used as disclaimers from the analysis. An example of the use of a disclaimer is the following quote: “Of course there are some Moroccan youths who behave properly, but they do engage more in criminal activities than other Dutch youths”. In this example the part “of course there are some Moroccan youths who behave properly” is used as a disclaimer. We used three codes, that are: ‘contrapositions with regard to subgroups’, ‘accordance of positions with regard to subgroups’ and ‘one predicate with regard to the social group’.

Table 8.2.2 *Contrapositions with regard to the attitude-object (Cohen's kappa = .63)*

Group	Contra-positions	Accordance	Only one predicate	Total
Allochtonen	67%	26%	7%	100% (81)
Muslims	80%	8%	12%	100% (92)
Moroccan youths	31%	7%	62%	100% (89)

Difference for questionnaire topic ($\chi^2 = 92.48$, $df = 4$, $p = .01$ (two-sided)).

Table 8.2.2 shows that not all respondents mentioned predicates that included contrapositions toward the group. We included the column 'one predicate' in this table because it is impossible to have contradicting predicates if a respondent mentions only one predicate. Regarding Moroccan youths, by far, most of the respondents mentioned only one predicate. This predicate could be a more general predicate such as 'youngsters', but mostly it included an evaluative component such as 'aggressive'. It is striking, that almost all predicates ascribed to Moroccan youths are more or less negative (see table 8.1.1). These results make it possible to make our second inference about the univocal denotative meaning of the three attitude objects. We argue that these results indicate that a large majority of respondents have one univocal denotative meaning of the attitude object 'Moroccan youths'. The next box shows an example of a respondent who assigned only one predicate to Moroccan youths, i.e. 'colored people'.

Box 8.2.1 One predicate assigned to Moroccan youths

<p>I: What image comes to your mind when you think of the words 'Moroccan youths'?</p> <p>R: Yes, actually their appearance and uhm that's all.</p> <p>I: What do you mean by their appearance?</p> <p>R: Well just the way they look. I mean if you think about a Moroccan than you think that they are slightly tinted, they also have lot of the times uhm dark and somewhat stiff hair and uhm (laughs) Well just their appearance.</p> <p>I: Their appearance.</p> <p>R: Yes.</p>	<p>I: Welk beeld roepen de woorden 'Marokkaanse jongeren' bij u op?</p> <p>R: Ja eigenlijk ja hun uiterlijk en uhm verder eigenlijk niets nog.</p> <p>I: Wat bedoelt u met hun uiterlijk?</p> <p>R: Nou gewoon, hoe ze eruit zien. Ik bedoel als je denkt Marokkaan dan denk ik ze zijn licht getint, ze hebben dat haar dat is vaak uhm donker en wat stugger en uhm (lacht). Nou gewoon echt puur het uiterlijk.</p> <p>I: Het uiterlijk.</p> <p>R: Ja.</p>
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Next, we present an example in which the respondent develops a contraposition toward two subgroups of Muslims in The Netherlands.

Box 8.2.2 Respondent talks about moderate Muslims and extreme Muslims.

<p>I: What image comes to your mind when you think of the word 'Muslims'?</p> <p>R: Uhm, mixed. A majority especially the more radical they refuse to integrate. Uhm, and the moderates are fairly open towards others, quite tolerant. Well, there is a real distinction.</p> <p>I: What do you mean with the radicals?</p> <p>R: Uhm, the fanatics, the hard core, who are along the line of Theo van Gogh well say at his side (laughs) but reversed.</p> <p>I: In what respect fanatic?</p> <p>R: Take the Koran very literally [...], they interpret the Koran in not such a way that Muslims should not be tolerant. And they are absolutely not. When someone says something negative about them, then he should just be killed immediately or at least be repudiated. And as far as I know that is not part of being a Muslim.</p>	<p>I: Welk beeld roept het woord 'moslims' bij u op?</p> <p>R: Uhm, dubbel. Groot deel vooral de wat radicalen, die weigeren zich aan te passen. Uhm, en de gematigden zijn vrij open naar anderen, vrij tolerant. Dus je hebt er echt een tweedeling in zitten.</p> <p>I: En wat versta je onder de radicalen?</p> <p>R: Uhm, fanatieken, harde kern, die richting de Theo van Gogh zeg maar kant, (lacht), tegen zijn.</p> <p>I: In welk opzicht fanatiek?</p> <p>R: Nemen de Koran heel erg letterlijk [...], nemen de Koran dusdanig niet dat moslims tolerant moeten zijn. En zij zijn het absoluut niet. Als iemand negatief over hun is, moet-ie maar gelijk afgemaakt worden of in ieder geval verstoten worden. En zover ik weet hoort dat niet bij een moslim.</p>
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In this example the respondent is clearly talking about a dichotomy between extreme and moderate Muslims and she has contradicting attitudes toward these two subgroups.

Next, we present an example of a respondent who did mention more than two predicates about allochtonen, but these predicates do not imply contrapositions toward the social group.

Box 8.2.3 Respondent specifies 'allochtonen'.

<p>I: What image comes to your mind when you think of the word 'allochtonen'?</p> <p>R: People from foreign origin, who've come uhm to live and work here. That could be Germans, Belgians, French, English, but also Moroccan, Turkish, or Arab people, but Americans are also possible. Well, everything that comes here from abroad. Sometimes to our pleasure, sometimes not. But well, that depends on who you meet I guess.</p>	<p>I: Welk beeld, en nu mag u zeggen wat u wilt, welk beeld roept het woord 'allochtonen' bij u op?</p> <p>R: Mensen die van buitenlandse oorsprong, hier zijn uhm komen wonen en werken. Dat kunnen zijn Duitsers, Belgen, Fransen, Engelsen, maar ook Marokkaanse, Turkse, dus Arabische mensen, maar Amerikanen kan ook. Dus alles wat vanuit het buitenland hier naartoe komt. Soms tot ons genoegen, soms ook niet. Maar goed, dat hangt een beetje af hoe je het treft.</p>
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In this example, the respondent assigned several predicates to allochtonen in The Netherlands, but these predicates are specifications of the term 'allochtonen'. The respondent does not express any contrapositions toward allochtonen based on the predicates he assigned to this group. In fact he develops a kind of enumerative definition of 'allochtonen'.

Respondents who assigned multiple predicates to a group did not only present these contradictions as direct differentiations of different subgroups, they also switched between predicates

during the interview. In other words, respondents talked about different groups of allochtonen at different moments in the interview. The next box shows an example of a respondent who switches between predicates during the interview.

Box 8.2.4 Switching of predicates during the interview

<p>I: What image comes to your mind when you think of the word 'allochtonen'?</p> <p>R: Uhm. Foreigners.</p> <p>I: Can you elaborate on that?</p> <p>R: Yeah, it is, uhm, like in the past, uhm, the guest workers and such. That that is what I heard possibly, people who try to get in every possible way and a hum residence permit or whatever for The Netherlands.</p> <p>I: Which emotions does the word 'allochtonen' evoke?</p> <p>R: Hum, sometimes, hum, 'you'd better go back'.</p> <p>I: And could you explain why you have this feeling?</p> <p>R: Because of those what you hear, hum, hum, or they come here and loud-mouthed and demanding the whole lot or they are like you know okay, they've just arrived and hum are arrested for theft or something. Well, that lot can return where they came from if it's up to me.</p> <p>I: You said that you sometimes had the feeling of 'you'd better go back'.</p> <p>R: [Yes]</p> <p>I: That means that you have other feelings as well.</p> <p>R: Yeah, look if if you have all these that that uh, have real problems and stuff, those those you have to help of course, that I can agree with. The good ones, so to say, no problem, uhm, yes they can get help. But, neuh, what I said about them getting in here, let's face it, those that come here with the very fancy cars, well well that's no real refugee if you ask me. They can easily afford that and the one who stay there that don't have any money to come here.</p>	<p>I: Welk beeld roept het woord 'allochtonen' bij jou op?</p> <p>R: Uhm. Buitenlanders.</p> <p>I: Kun je daar wat meer over zeggen?</p> <p>R: Ja, wat je dus heb, uhm soort van vroeger is, uhm, de gastarbeiders en dergelijke. Dat dat is dus wat wat eventueel wat ik hoorde, mensen die hier proberen op welke manier dan ook al een uhm verblijfsvergunning of wat ook te krijgen in Nederland.</p> <p>I: En wat voor gevoelens roept het woord 'allochtonen' bij jou op?</p> <p>R: Uhm, soms van uhm, 'ga maar weer terug'.</p> <p>I: En kunt u ook toelichten waarom u dat gevoel hebt?</p> <p>R: Om diegene wat je dus hoort, uhm, uhm, of ze komen hierzo en een grote mond eisen een heleboel of diegene is van okay, ze zijn hier nog maar net en uhm worden opgepakt voor diefstal en dergelijke. Nou dat spul mag van mij retour bestemming.</p> <p>I: U zei 'soms een gevoel van gaat maar weer terug'.</p> <p>R: [Ja]</p> <p>I: Dat betekent dat je ook andere gevoelens hebt.</p> <p>R: Ja, kijk als als je al diegene die die uhm, echt problemen hebben enzovoorts, die die moet je dus natuurlijk wel helpen, dat ben ik wel wel mee eens. De goeie dus daargelaten, om het zo maar te zeggen, die die kunnen dus rustig, uhm, ja, hulp krijgen. Maar neuh, wat ik net zeg van, diegene wat dus uh, hierzo binnenkomt, laten we eerlijk zijn, die hier met een hele mooie auto al binnenkomen, nou-nou dat is voor mijn geen geen vluchteling. Die kan dat goed betalen en diegene die daar achter blijf die geen geld heeft om hier te komen.</p>
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In the example in box 8.2.4, the respondent switches between talking about 'foreigners', then later on is talking about 'guest workers' and ends up with talking about 'refugees'.

To summarize, the majority of respondents that ascribed two or more predicates to the group did entail contrapositions with regard to the group they were interviewed about. In cases where respondents mention more than two predicates, it does not mean that all predicates are contrapositions, but among these predicates there are at least two predicates that are direct contrapositions. We argue that when respondents assign contradicting predicates toward a social group, this indicates a non-

univocal denotative meaning of the attitude object in question. The results in this section are in accordance with hypotheses 1a and 1b. Respondents were less likely to assign contradicting predicates toward Moroccan youths than to Muslims and allochtonen.

8.2.3 DIFFERENTIATION OF FEELINGS

Hypotheses 1c and 1d concerns the expression of mixed feelings. We expect that respondents who express their feelings about Moroccan youths are less likely to express mixed feelings than respondents who express their feelings about Muslims and allochtonen. We use the answers to the following open question (O2): “What feelings does the word (‘allochtonen’, ‘Muslims’, Moroccan youths’) evoke? Does the word call up any other emotions?” First, we checked if respondents actually did express feelings in response to this question. Table 8.2.3 shows these results.

Table 8.2.3 *Feelings versus cognitions.*

Group	Feelings	Only Cognitions	No feelings nor cognitions	Total
Allochtonen	68%	21%	11%	100% (80)
Muslims	66%	14%	20%	100% (93)
Moroccan youths	76%	13%	11%	100% (87)

Difference for questionnaire topic ($\chi^2 = 6.36$, $df = 4$, $p = .02$ (two-sided)).

The table above illustrates that almost one-fifth of the respondents were not prepared to talk about feelings while answering this question. Instead, they avoided the question by just talking about cognitions or explicitly denying any feelings. Box 8.2.5 shows an example in which the respondent responds to the question with regards to feelings about allochtonen by expressing her opinion, among other things, about the adjustment of various groups to Dutch society. She is clearly expressing cognitions and does not express feelings.

Box 8.2.5 Example of a respondent who only expresses cognitions.

<p>I: What feelings does the word ‘allochtonen’ evoke?</p> <p>R: (Silence) Well, that are people who have come to live here from abroad with the different country’s traditions. Uhm, it is usually if we discuss it about Moroccans and Turks and Arabs in general, that’s what it’s usually about. Because the others, yes they behave, adapt more easily than those people.</p> <p>I: [Mh mh]</p> <p>R: Why? The people are raised there in a different culture, in a different climate, uhm when the windows here are draughty uhm then they tape them shut because it is too cold here, there it was normal in</p>	<p>I: Wat voor gevoelens roept het woord ‘allochtonen’ bij u op?</p> <p>R: (Stilte) Het zijn dus mensen die hier van buiten zijn komen wonen met de verschillende landsaarden. Uhm, het gaat meestal als wij erover praten over Marokkanen en Turken en Arabieren in de algemeenheid, daar gaat het meestal over. Want de anderen, ja die gedragen, passen zich makkelijker aan dan die mensen.</p> <p>I: [Mh Mh.]</p> <p>R: Waarom? De mensen zijn daar in een andere cultuur groot gebracht, andere</p>
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Box 8.2.5 (continued) Example of a respondent who only expresses cognitions.

those countries that everything was in the open air en blows right in and that causes these people to behave differently in their homes, living.	klimaatomstandigheden, uhm als hier de ramen tochten uhm dan plakken ze ze dicht want het is hier te koud, daar was het gewoon in die landen dat alles open en bloot dus zo naar binnen waait dus dan krijg je dat die mensen zich anders uhm opstellen in woningen, wonen.
I: [Mh mh.]	I: [Mh mh.]
R: than we do here and that invokes complaints with people that are not used to those living conditions.	R: dan wij hier en dat roept dan klachten op bij mensen die die woonwijze niet gewend zijn.
I: [Mh mh]	I: [Mh mh.]
R: Well, that is the image that comes to mind about allochtonen, uhm yes they are strangers. We had Hungarians living up on the next floor once; they in turn lived differently from the Dutch.	R: Nou, dat is een beeld wat je van de allochtonen krijgt, uhm, ja dat zijn vreemden. We hebben een keer Hongaren boven ons gehad, die leefden weer anders dan Nederlanders.
I: [Mh mh]	I: [Mh mh.]
R: Those, those are differences and you have to learn that from each other to understand it.	R: Dat, dat zijn verschillen en dat moet je van elkaar leren te begrijpen.
I: Yes, those are your feelings about it?	I: Ja, dat zijn uw gevoelens?
R: Yes.	R: Ja.
I: Does the word trigger any other feelings?	I: Maakt het woord verder nog emotie bij u los, emoties?
R: No, no, no.	R: Nee, nee, nee.
I: No?	I: Nee?
R: No, really. I mean, there are different kinds of allochtonen that can be there and also Dutch can in my opinion be less pleasant.	R: Nee, hoor. Ik bedoel, er zijn verschillende soorten allochtonen kunnen d'r zijn en ook Nederlanders kunnen dus uhm in mijn ogen minder aangenaam zijn.
I: [Mh mh]	I: [Mh mh.]
R: It is the other way around; maybe I am unpleasant in their eyes.	R: Het is omgekeerd, dat ik in hun ogen niet aangenaam kan zijn.

Next, we are going to check if there is a relation between expressing mixed feelings and the topic of the questionnaire. We coded respondents as having 'mixed feelings' when they expressed a combination of positive, neutral, and negative feelings about the social group under investigation. Respondents were most likely to have mixed feelings with regard to Muslims (see table 8.2.4). The reason for this could possibly be found in our earlier reported results regarding the predicates respondents assigned to the groups. These earlier results (table 8.2.2) show that respondents were most likely to assign contradicting predicates to the attitude object when they were interviewed about their attitude toward Muslims.

Table 8.2.4 *Mixed feelings versus questionnaire topic.*

Group	Mixed feelings	No mixed feelings	Total
Allochtonen	24%	76%	100% (54)
Muslims	38%	62%	100% (60)
Moroccan youths	22%	78%	100% (64)

Difference for questionnaire topic ($\chi^2 = 4.77$, $df = 2$, $p = .045$).

The next box shows a respondent who expresses mixed feelings toward Muslims.

Box 8.2.6 Example of a respondent who expresses mixed feelings regarding Muslims.

I: What feelings do the word 'Muslims' evoke? R: Uhm fear. I: anything else? Do any other emotions surface? R: Uhm, anger. But also feelings of commiseration with those people who are willing (silence) yes not every Muslim is of course [...]	I: Wat voor gevoelens roept het woord 'moslims' bij u op? R: Uhm angst. I: Verder nog? Nog andere emoties die bovenkomen? R: Uhm, woede, maar ook medelijden met de mensen die dus wel (stilte) ja niet elke moslim is natuurlijk.
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In this example, the respondent is expressing negative feelings such as fear and anger, but also expressing feelings of commiseration toward some Muslims. Box 8.2.7 shows an example of a respondent who expressed solely negative feelings with regard to Moroccan youths.

Box 8.2.7 Example of a respondent who expresses only one type of feelings about Moroccan youths.

I: What feelings do the words 'Moroccan youths' evoke? R: Which feelings? (silence) A bit of hatred. I: So you feel hatred hearing of it? R: Yes, a negative feeling. It just pisses me off. I: Yes.	I: Wat voor gevoelens roepen de woorden Marokkaanse jongeren bij u op? R: Wat voor gevoelens? (stilte) Een beetje een haatgevoel. I: Dus u krijgt er een haatgevoel over? R: Ja, een negatief gevoel. Ik word er gewoon kwaad van. I: Ja.
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In the example above the respondent is expressing solely feelings of hatred with regard to Moroccan youths.

We argued that expressing mixed feelings is an indicator of a less univocal denotative meaning of the attitude object. To check this assumption we investigate whether respondents who assigned contradicting predicates to the social group, also have mixed feelings toward the group.

Table 8.2.5 *Mixed feelings versus contrapositions*

Contraposition	Mixed feelings	No mixed feelings	Total
Yes	85%	15%	100% (72)
No	62%	38%	100% (103)

Difference for contraposition (Pearson $\chi^2 = 10.59$, $df = 1$, $p = .00$)

Table 8.2.5 demonstrates that there is a difference between respondents who did and those who did not assign contradicting predicates to (sub)groups in whether they mention mixed or no mixed feelings

about the group. Respondents who expressed contrapositions toward the (sub) groups were more likely to express mixed feelings than those respondents who did not hold these contrapositions.

Summarizing, Our first finding was that: 1) respondents did not always express their feelings notwithstanding the use of probing techniques, and 2) a substantial number of respondents mentioned only cognitions instead of feelings. Further, the results in this section confirm hypothesis 1c, i.e. respondents who express feelings toward Moroccan youths are less likely to express mixed feelings than respondents who express feelings toward Muslims. However, the results do not confirm hypothesis 1d. Respondents who express feelings toward Moroccan youths were not less likely to express mixed feelings than respondents who express feelings toward allochtonen. We also found a significant relation between the expression of mixed feelings and the assignment of contradicting predicates to the attitude object. Respondents who assigned contradicting predicates to the attitude object were more likely to express mixed feelings.

8.2.4 CONCLUSION

In this section we tested four hypotheses. The first two hypotheses concern the univocal denotative meaning respondents attach to the attitude object. We used two indicators to test these two hypotheses. We checked the number of differences respondents mentioned among members of the social group and whether respondents assign contradicting predicates to the social group. We argued that if respondents expressed hardly any differences among members of the group and if they do not assign contradicting predicates to the group it could be concluded that respondents assign a more or less univocal denotative meaning to the attitude object. The first hypothesis (1a) states that respondents who are talking about Moroccan youths are more likely to attach a univocal denotative meaning to this group than respondents who are talking about Muslims. The second hypothesis (1b) states that respondents who are talking about Moroccan youths are more likely to attach a univocal denotative meaning to this group than respondents who are talking about allochtonen. The results of both methods are in accordance with these first two hypotheses.

The next two hypotheses concern the expression of mixed feeling toward the social groups. The results of our analysis enable us to confirm hypothesis 1c: Respondents who express feelings toward Moroccan youths are less likely to express mixed feelings than respondents who express feelings toward Muslims. However, we were not able to confirm hypothesis 1d, i.e. respondents who express feelings toward Moroccan youths are less likely to express mixed feelings than respondents who express feelings toward allochtonen.

In general, we may conclude that respondents are most likely to have a univocal denotative meaning of the attitude object 'Moroccan youths'. Respondents reported a less univocal denotative meaning of Muslims and allochtonen in The Netherlands based on these analyses. Still, the predicates assigned to Muslims and allochtonen give reason to assume that although the denotative meaning of these attitude objects is less univocal, there seems to be more consensus among respondents about the less univocal denotative meaning of Muslims than of allochtonen. We will elaborate on the consensus among respondents in the next section.

8.3 CONSENSUS AMONG RESPONDENTS ABOUT THE DENOTATIVE MEANING OF ATTITUDE OBJECT

In the previous section, we reported our results with regard to the univocal denotative meaning respondents assigned to the attitude object. In this section, we present our results regarding consensus among these respondents about the denotative meaning of the attitude object. We will report the results of the analysis of the variation between respondents concerning the type of predicate(s) they assigned to the social group.

8.3.1 VARIATION OF TYPE OF PREDICATES: CONTRADICTING PREDICATES

In this section, we present the types of contrapositions respondents verbalized with regard to the social group. As we stated in section 8.2.1, contrapositions that were clearly used as disclaimers were excluded from the analysis.

Table 8.3.1 *Type of contrapositions versus questionnaire topic*

Contrapositions	Allochtonen (n = 54)	Muslims (n = 74)	Moroccan youths (n = 28)
Extreme vs. Moderate	28%	82%	11%
Westernized vs. aloof	30%	14%	29%
Nationalities ¹	31%	1%	n/a
Problem youth vs. just youngsters	n/a	n/a	39%
Extremist versus Westernized	6%	-	7%
Good versus bad	-	1%	4%
Young vs. old	2%	-	n/a
Girls versus boys	-	-	4%
Guest workers versus the others	2%	-	-
Terrorist versus the other	-	1%	-
Illegal versus Legal foreigners	2%	-	-

¹ several different nationalities were mentioned toward which respondents held contrapositions.

Our first inference about consensus among respondents is based on the analysis of the contradicting predicates that respondents assigned to the social group. We argued that if respondents assign contradicting predicates to the attitude object, respondents do not attach a univocal denotative meaning to the attitude object. However, we also argued that consensus among respondents does occur if the type of contrapositions they assign to the group are more or less the same.

Respondents differ in the contrapositions about the attitude object depending on the topic of the questionnaire. The vast majority (82%) of respondents who assigned contradicting predicates to subgroups of Muslims made the same distinction, that is they made a distinction between extreme and moderate Muslims. This result indicates that there is consensus among respondents about the non-univocal denotative meaning of the attitude object 'Muslims', since there is consensus among respondents about the distinction between extreme and moderate Muslims.

In case of allochtonen, the first conclusion is that there is not one type of contraposition toward this attitude object that stands out. Since respondents hold contrapositions regarding three different sets of subgroups namely: 1) extreme versus moderate Muslims; 2) persons who are westernized versus those who remain aloof from Dutch society, and 3) different nationalities, for example: Turkish people versus Moroccan people. In contrast with the consensus about the distinction respondents made between extreme and moderate Muslims who were interviewed about Muslims, respondents talking about allochtonen made different types of distinctions between subgroups of allochtonen. These results indicate that there is fewer consensuses about the non-univocal denotative meaning of the attitude object 'allochtonen' among respondents.

We already reported in section 8.2.2 that only 28% of the respondents who were interviewed on Moroccan youths assigned contradicting predicates to this attitude object. The small number of respondents (about ten percent of these respondents) who did this were most likely to make a distinction between the so-called 'problem youth' and just normal young Moroccans (coded as 'just youngsters').

To summarize, these results show that there is more variance in the contradicting predicates that respondents assigned to allochtonen than the predicates they assigned to Muslims. With regard to Moroccan youths, we conclude that there is consensus among respondents about the univocal denotative meaning of this attitude object. These results are indicators that hypothesis 2a could be confirmed, i.e. it is less likely that there is consensus among respondents about the denotative meaning of the attitude object 'allochtonen', than about the denotative meaning of the attitude object 'Muslims'. We can conclude the same for hypothesis 2b: It is less likely that there is consensus among respondents

about the denotative meaning of the attitude object ‘allochtonen’, than about the denotative meaning of the attitude object ‘Moroccan youths’. Although, these results match our expectations, we will now continue by checking the variation of types of predicates in case of non-contradicting predicates.

8.3.2 VARIATION OF TYPE OF PREDICATES: NON-CONTRADICTING PREDICATES

In section 8.2.2 it comes to the forth that not all respondents assigned contradicting predicates to the social group. In this case respondents either assigned only one predicate to the group or they assigned several non-contradicting predicates to the social group. In the next table we are going to present the predicates that those respondents assigned to the social group

Table 8.3.2 *Predicates assigned to the groups in case of non-contradicting predicates.*

Code	Allochtonen (n = 27)	Muslims (n = 19)	Moroccan youths (n = 62)
Nationalities/Origin			
(North-) Africans	2	1	-
Antilleans	3	-	n/a ¹¹
Arabs	1	1	n/a
Asians	1	2	n/a
Moroccans	13		n/a
Moroccan youths	2	1	n/a
Not western	1	-	-
Surinamese	2	1	n/a
South Europeans	2	1	n/a
Turks	12	5	n/a
Immigrants with Western origins	1	-	n/a
Foreigners	12	1	-
Motives for immigration			
Guest workers	3	-	-
Refugees	3	-	-
Religion			
People who are devoted to their religious beliefs	-	2	-
People who are Extremists in their religious beliefs	5	4	2
People who are moderate in their religious beliefs	1	7	-
Muslims	11	n/a	2
Physical characteristics			
Colored people (‘Blacks’)	7	-	3
Positive behavior or personality characteristics			
Just youngsters	N/a	n/a	10
People who are friendly	-	-	1
People who try to adapt to Dutch society	1	-	-

¹¹ n/a = not applicable

Table 8.3.2 (continued) *Predicates assigned to the groups of non-contradicting predicates.*

Code	Allochtonen	Muslims	Moroccan youths
Negative behavior or personality characteristics			
People who are aggressive	-	-	12
People who behave arrogantly	-	-	2
People who remain aloof from Dutch society	3	-	3
Youngsters that cluster on the streets	-	-	17
Criminals	1	2	5
People who are less rational than Dutch people	1	-	-
People who are threatening	-	-	2
People who cause problems	-	-	3
People who have gone wild	-	-	2
People who behave hostile			1
Profiteers	1		1
Terrorists	-	1	-

The table demonstrates that respondents assigned a wide variety of predicates in case of non-contradicting predicates when they were talking about allochtonen. Box 8.2.3 shows an example of such an answer. In this example the respondent is specifying the attitude object ‘allochtonen’. The predicates assigned to allochtonen differ from the predicates assigned to Moroccan youths, since the predicates assigned to Moroccan youths concern mainly negative behavioral and/or negative personality characteristics and thus evaluative statements regarding this social group, while the predicates assigned to allochtonen include lots of different social (sub)groups

The predicates assigned by respondents who were interviewed about their attitude toward Muslims mainly focus on religious behavior. These predicates differ from the contradicting predicates in such a way that respondents for example solely talked about moderate Muslims or solely talked about extremist Muslims.

To summarize, these results indicate that among the respondents, in the case of Moroccan youths, there seems to be consensus about one univocal denotative meaning of this group. This group is mainly framed in terms of behavioral and personality characteristics. The results again demonstrate the dissensus about a univocal denotative meaning of the attitude object ‘allochtonen’.

8.3.3 CONCLUSION

The results in this section indicate that there is consensus among respondents about a univocal denotative meaning of the attitude object ‘Moroccan youths’. Moreover, there also seems to be consensus among respondents about a non-univocal denotative meaning of Muslims. In a way that there is consensus about two distinct subgroups of Muslims, that are moderate Muslims and extreme

Muslims. Finally, these results showed that there is fewer consensus among respondents about the denotative meaning of allochtonen. In the case where respondents assigned contradicting predicates to allochtonen, some respondents talked about extreme Muslims versus moderate Muslims. This group of respondents thus focused on the religion of allochtonen. Other respondents made a distinction between allochtonen who are westernized and allochtonen who remain aloof from Dutch society. This group of respondents focused on adjustment to Dutch society. Also a substantial part of the respondents just focused on the various nationalities of allochtonen.

These results are in accordance with hypothesis 2a (It is less likely that there is consensus among respondents about the denotative meaning of the attitude object 'allochtonen', than about the denotative meaning of the attitude object 'Muslims') and hypothesis 2b (It is less likely that there is consensus among respondents about the denotative meaning of the attitude object 'allochtonen', than about the attitude object 'Moroccan youths').

8.4 DIFFERENTIATION OF THE ATTITUDE OBJECT AND ANSWERS TO CLOSED QUESTIONS

Our fourth hypothesis concerns the effect of differentiation of the attitude object while answering open questions and answering closed questions. In the pilot study we found that respondents who differentiate the attitude object in their answer to an open question were more likely to choose a moderate answer category while answering a corresponding closed question. Although the results of this pilot study seem quite convincing we have three reasons to check this relationship again. The first reason is that the sample of that study was quite small ($n=19$). Second, the research population solely consisted of students and third our results were based on the relationship between the answers to open questions and closed questions on answer level and not on respondent level. This might have led to an overestimation of the effect, because when one respondent differentiated the group on all open questions and chose a moderate answer category while answering closed questions all answers of that one respondent were in the results. Those are the reasons why we decided to check the relationship again in our main study. We check this relationship by focusing on the answers to the open question six (O6): "What is your opinion about the attitude (allochtonen, Muslims, Moroccan youths) have toward people who think differently?" We chose this open question because this question is highly comparable with one of the assertions in the questionnaires (C4), that is: "By far most (allochtonen, Muslims, Moroccan youths) are tolerant toward people who think differently". First, we checked whether respondents differentiate the attitude object in their answer to the open question (O6).

Table 8.4.1 *Differentiation of the group by respondents answering the open question on tolerance (O6) (Cohen's kappa = .88).*

Group	Differentiation of the group	No differentiation of the group	Total
Allochtonen	49%	51%	100% (n = 71)
Muslims	62%	38%	100% (n = 91)
Moroccan youths	36%	64%	100% (n = 83)
Total	50%	50%	100% (n = 245)

Difference for questionnaire topic (Pearson $\chi^2 = 11.23$, $df = 2$, $p = .00$)

Table 8.4.1 demonstrates that fifty percent of the respondents differentiate the group while answering the open question regarding the attitude allochtonen, respectively, Muslims or Moroccan youths have toward people who think differently. Respondents are most likely to differentiate Muslims and the least likely to differentiate the attitude object 'Moroccan youths'.

The next step is to verify whether respondents who differentiate the attitude object while answering the open question choose a moderate answer category in answering the comparable closed question. As we stated in chapter four, following Van den Berg and Carabain (2003), we consider the moderate answer categories as: 'partly agree', 'do not agree/do not disagree' and 'partly disagree'. The other two answer categories, 'fully agree' and 'fully disagree', are considered 'extreme' answer categories. The 'don't know'-s are recoded as missing values.

Table 8.4.2 *Answer behavior on the corresponding closed question.*

Group	Moderate answer category	Extreme answer category	Total
Allochtonen	96%	4%	100% (n = 95)
Muslims	91%	9%	100% (n = 99)
Moroccan youths	87%	13%	100% (n = 99)
Total	92%	8%	100% (n = 293)

Difference for questionnaire topic (Pearson $\chi^2 = 3.32$, $df = 2$, $p = .10$, (one-sided))

Table 8.4.2 illustrates that in general respondents chose a moderate answer category while answering the closed question. Now, we are going to compare the differentiation of the group while answering the open question with the choice of the answer category while answering the closed question.

Table 8.4.3 *Differentiation versus use of moderate or extreme answer categories for all three groups.*

Group	Moderate answer category	Extreme answer category	Total
Differentiation group	96%	4%	100% (n = 116)
No differentiation	88%	12%	100% (n = 113)
Total	92%	8%	100% (n = 229)

Difference for differentiation (Pearson $\chi^2 = 5.41$, $df = 1$, $p = .01$, (one-sided))

The table above demonstrates that respondents who differentiate their answer while answering open questions were indeed more likely to choose a moderate answer category while answering the comparable closed question. These results confirm the results of the pilot study.

To conclude, we showed that there is a relation between the differentiation of the attitude-object when answering open questions and the answers to closed questions. Respondents who differentiated the attitude object in their answer to the open question were more likely to choose a moderate answer category while answering a corresponding closed question. In other words, respondents for whom the attitude object does not have a univocal denotative meaning are more likely to choose a moderate answer category while answering closed questions. This result confirms our fourth hypothesis, i.e. respondents who differentiate the social group when answering the open question, are more likely to choose a moderate answer category when answering a corresponding closed question than respondents who do not differentiate the social group while answering the open question. This indicates that a moderate answer category does not represent the often assumed, more or less, neutral opinion but could also be an indication of respondents who are averaging opposite attitudes toward different subgroups as distinguished by the respondents.

8.5 OPERATIONAL PROBLEMS

It is obvious that conceptual problems have a large impact on the validity of a study, but also operational problems can undermine the validity of attitude research. Earlier, we defined operational problems as problems concerning the question wording used to assess evaluative tendencies toward the attitude object. In this section we present two examples in which we show the impact of these problems. Again, the answers to an open question enabled us to gain insight into these problems. In these two examples, the evaluative tendencies concern the terms ‘well enough adapted to Dutch society’ and ‘feeling threatened’. As mentioned before it is common practice in attitude research to ask respondents to what extent they agree or disagree with a certain evaluative statement. Respondents or

groups of respondents are compared with respect to their degree of (dis)agreement. Knowledge of the frames of reference used by respondents can be utilized to interpret the answers of respondents to closed questions.

8.5.1 'ADAPTATION TO DUTCH SOCIETY'

In this section we present the results on how respondents define the term 'well enough adapted to Dutch society'. Our fifth open question (O5) is a question about whether members of the groups adjust well to Dutch society: "Do you think that (allochtonen, Muslims, Moroccan youths) in The Netherlands adapt well enough to Dutch society?" After respondents answered this question, interviewers were instructed to follow up this question by asking respondents how they define 'well enough adapted'. We coded the way respondents define this term. We generated the codes by open coding and then later applied the ultimate coding scheme to all interview transcripts. All codes that we used are reported in table 8.5.1.

We start by presenting examples of the categories that were mentioned by respondents. First, cultural adaptation included several aspects of Dutch culture, such as clothing, Dutch values, the celebration of national holidays etc. The next box shows an example of a respondent who talked about cultural adaptation.

Box 8.5.1 An example of adaptation defined as acquiring knowledge of Dutch culture.

<p>[...]: You mentioned the language, culture you mentioned, and what do you mean by culture?</p> <p>R: Yes uhm the, the customs and habits that we have here, he uhm. I mean also that uhm, I I think that they should, well they should learn uhm learn a bit more about the history of The Netherlands some of the background, so you you wouldn't have to be disturbed by the uhm I'll just say the 4 May commemoration, uhm with which uhm, the foreigners uhm, deal with a bit weird, which can be rather disruptive, furthermore disrupting uhm (incomprehensible) of course of the celebration of St. Nicholas again, that has disruption by foreign youths who enjoy that and think it's funny.....</p>	<p>[...]: U noemt de taal, cultuur noemt u, en wat bedoelt u met de cultuur?</p> <p>R: Ja uhm de de gewoontes en gebruiken die we hier hebben, he uhm. Ik bedoel ook het uhm, ik ik vind dat ze wel, ze zouden dus wel een beetje meer geschiedenis moeten uhm, moeten leren van van Nederland een beetje de achtergronden, waardoor je je bijvoorbeeld niet hoeft te storen aan de uhm ik zeg maar 4 mei herdenking, uhm waar uhm, de buitenlanders uhm, dat toch een beetje vreemd omgaan, wat tamelijk storend kan zijn, verder het verstoren uhm (onverstaanbaar) van sinterklaasfeest natuurlijk weer, dat verstoring heeft door buitenlandse jongeren die dat dan leuk vinden en grappig vinden..</p>
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In this example, the respondent is using 'Dutch culture' to refer to Dutch customs, knowledge about Dutch history as a prerequisite to respect Remembrance Day or the celebration of St. Nicholas.

Respondents also mentioned adjustment to Dutch daily routines. This category included answers that focus on adjustment with regard to Dutch daily behavior, such as aspects of behavior in the public space etc., and could be seen as a limited form of adjusting to Dutch culture.

Box 8.5.2 Example of adaptation defined as following Dutch daily routines.

I: How do you define 'well enough'? That they adapt well enough, in what way? R: Yes that they at least try to uhm keep up with the Dutch and also uhm adapt yourselves uhm to school, in the shop. Yes.	I: Wat verstaat u onder voldoende? Dat ze zich voldoende aanpassen, in wat voor zin? R: Ja dat ze toch proberen om uhm met de Nederlanders mee te komen en ook uhm d'r eigen aanpassen uhm op school, in de winkel. Ja.
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In this example, the respondent is talking about adjustment to behavior in shops and schools. The next category that may need some explanation is the category 'contribution to Dutch society'. This category consists of answers in which respondents argue that allochtonen, Muslims or Moroccan youths are well enough adapted to Dutch society if they contribute to this society.

Box 8.5.3 Example of adaptation defined as contribution to Dutch society.

I: How do you define 'well enough adapted'? [...] R: To have contact with your own group, but also really try to have contact with others, but that is of course a two-sided affair because we need to be open up for that too, but yes uhm and yet also just try an education, work and to try to achieve that what you're capable of, and that in that way try to contribute to society.	I: Wat verstaat u eigenlijk onder voldoende aanpassen? [...] R: Met je eigen groepsgenoten omgaan maar echt ook proberen met andere omgaan, maar dat is natuurlijk een dubbel verhaal want moeten wij ons ook voor open stellen, maar goed uhm en toch proberen ook gewoon een opleiding, werk en datgene wat je kunt ook proberen te bereiken, en dat dat op die manier een bijdrage leveren aan de samenleving.
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In box 8.5.4 an example is presented of a respondent who frames adaptation in terms of personal relations.

Box 8.5.4 Example of adaptation developing personal relations with the Dutch.

[...] I: Yes. (Incomprehensible) well enough or not well enough adapted? R: Yes. The language. I: The language. Also another aspect maybe? R: Well, just participating, also just working and you (silence) uhm how do you call it, integrating in the Dutch society and in their ways of life. I: Yes, that word 'integration'. R: Yes that they stick together in cliques. That is of course also partly caused by The Netherlands themselves because they're all put together in the same neighborhood, but very often they don't want to get out anymore themselves when you as Dutch	[...] I : Ja. (onverstaanbaar) met voldoende of onvoldoende aanpassen? R: Ja. De taal. I: De taal. Nog een ander aspect misschien? R: Nou, het gewoon meedoen, ook gewoon werken en je (stilte) uhm hoe noem je dat, integreren in de Nederlanders en in hun levenswijjs. I: Ja. Dat woord 'integreren'. R: Ja, dat ze bij elkaar blijven in kliekjes. Dat wordt natuurlijk ook wel een beetje door Nederland zelf gedaan omdat ze in bepaalde buurten allemaal bij elkaar gestopt worden, maar ze willen ook vaak niet zelf meer eruit. Wanneer jij dan als Nederlander
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Box 8.5.4 (continued) Example of adaptation developing personal relations with the Dutch.

person try to make a chat then some of them don't want to either, but there are a lot of them who do do it, but also a lot of them who don't, so (silence) this is a rather hard one [...].	probeert een praatje aan te doen dan willen sommige dat ook niet, maar er zijn er heel veel die het wel doen, maar ook heel veel weer niet, dus (stilte) dat is wel een moeilijke. [...].
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Another category that may need some explanation is the category 'assimilation'. This category refers to answers in which respondents stated that members of the group should completely assimilate into Dutch society. The next box shows an example of such an answer.

Box 8.5.5 Example of adaptation defined as assimilation into the Dutch way of life.

I: Well. And how do you yourself define 'well enough adapted'?	I: Wel. En wat verstaat u zelf onder voldoende aanpassen?
R: That they uhm speak enough Dutch. And also behave in the same way as the Dutch youngsters. [...].	R: Dat ze uhm voldoende Nederlands praten. En ook precies zo reageren als de Nederlandse jeugd.[....].

In this example, the respondent says that well enough adjusted in her eyes means that they behave exactly the same as Dutch youth do. The last category that needs some explanation is the category 'respect'. The next box shows an example of that category.

Box 8.5.6 Example of adaptation defined as respecting Dutch society

I: And how define you that if they adapt, how do you define 'well enough adapted'?	I: En hoe ziet u dan als ze zich aanpassen, hoe ziet u dat voldoende aanpassen?
R: Uhm, to have respect for how, how, how things are done here, in the Dutch society, that can be different for every village or town but just, yeah, not attract attention.	R: Uhm, respect hebben voor hoe, hoe hoe, hier in het algemeen het gaat, in de Nederlandse samenleving, dat kan per dorp of stad verschillen maar gewoon uhm, ja, niet op willen vallen.

In this example, the respondent is not so much saying that members of the various groups should adjust in their behavior to Dutch society but more that they should respect it. The other two categories 'respect Dutch law' and 'speaking Dutch' are self-evident.

Table 8.5.1 *Definitions of 'well enough adapted' (Cohen's kappa = .78).*

Code	Category mentioned (n = 191)
Culture	56%
Dutch language	50%
Daily routine	14%
Respect Dutch Law	13%
Contribution to Dutch society	11%
Personal relations with Dutch people	9%
Respect Dutch society	8%
Assimilation	4%
Dutch education	2%

Table 8.5.1 shows that respondents differ in what they considered as 'well enough adapted to Dutch society'. Respondents were most likely to mention that the members of the group should adapt to Dutch society with regard to the adjustment to Dutch culture and learning the Dutch language.

In conclusion, the results show that respondents use a variety of definitions with regard to what they consider being well adapted to Dutch society. Some definitions are relatively minimal, such as 'respecting Dutch law' while other definitions are quite encompassing such as assimilating to the Dutch way of life. This may have major impact on the interpretation of answers to closed questions that focus on adapting to Dutch society. After all, a 'fully agree' on the closed question "I consider Muslims well adapted to Dutch society", can actually mean very different things; since there is an enormous difference between just 'respecting Dutch law' and complete assimilation to Dutch culture. This last definition of 'well enough adapted' implies that Muslims should react, behave and live the same way other Dutch people are supposed to do.

8.5.2 'FEELING THREATENED'

In our quest to gain insight into the frames of reference of respondents we scrutinize another construct used in our questionnaire, namely 'feeling threatened'. In the section above, we discovered the frame of reference of respondents by a specific probe. Another way to discover the frame of reference of respondents is by checking the way respondents elaborate while answering an open question. We will use this method with regard to the term 'feeling threatened'. In this section, we will also show the impact that different frames of reference of respondents can have on the results of a study.

The seventh open question (O7) reads: "Have you ever felt threatened by (allochtonen, Muslims, Moroccan youths)?" First, we coded the answers on whether respondents indicate whether they ever felt threatened by (members of) the group. While coding the transcripts, we discovered that

there are differences among respondents on how they defined the term ‘threatened’. Some respondents defined ‘feeling threatened’ broader than other respondents. Some respondents included having an uncomfortable feeling around members of the group in their definition of ‘feeling threatened’. Other respondents used a narrower definition of ‘feeling threatened’ and in fact they equate ‘feeling threatened’ with ‘experiencing physical threat’

The next example shows an example of an answer based on a broad definition of the term ‘feeling threatened’.

Box 8.5.7 Respondent with a broad definition of ‘feeling threatened’.

I: Mh. And have you ever felt threatened by Moroccan youths?	I: Mh. En heeft u zich weleens bedreigd gevoeld door Marokkaanse jongeren?
R: Yes. Not so much that they came up to me or anything, but you know uhm if I walk somewhere and it is dark and there are ten through fifteen Moroccans or Turks, it's all the same to me. But uhm yes then I really don't feel at ease if I have to get passed them. And I'll certainly try to make for that a detour or walk very fast passed them.	R: Ja. Niet zozeer dat ze op me afkwamen ofzo, maar gewoon uhm als ik ergens in het donker loop en er staan tien tot vijftien Marokkanen of Turken, het is voor mij allemaal één pot nat. Maar uhm ja dan voel ik me echt niet uhm niet lekker als ik daar langs moet. En dan zal ik ook echt proberen om een omweg voor te nemen of heel hard door te lopen.
I: And threatened uhm you feel threatened then?	I: En bedreigd uhm dan voelt u zich bedreigd?
R: Yes.	R: Ja.

Other respondents used a narrower definition in answering this question, as the next example shows.

Box 8.5.8 Respondent with a narrow definition of ‘feeling threatened’.

I: Have you ever felt threatened by Moroccan youths?	I: Heeft u zich weleens bedreigd gevoeld door Marokkaanse jongeren?
R: No, not really. It has happened occasionally that I came late from work occasionally, worked late walked to Rotterdam central station where a group of Moroccan youth hung around and yes you don't pass them with a cozy feeling that that they look provocative at you and if you feel that as threatening then that is exaggerated but it gives off a vibe I don't like. It feels a bit uncomfortable. But I haven't been threatened or anything I haven't.	R: Nee niet echt. Ik heb weleens gehad dat ik weleens 's avonds laat uit mijn werk kwam, overwerken naar station Rotterdam centraal liep waar dan een groep Marokkaanse jongens zich ophield en ja je loopt er niet met een lekker gevoel langs dat dat men kijkt provocerend naar je en als je dat bedreigend voelt is dat overdreven maar het heeft een uitstraling waar ik niet van houd. Het voelt niet echt lekker. Maar ik ben niet bedreigd ofzo hoor dat niet.
I: No no, but you didn't feel at ease there.	I: Nee nee, maar je voelde je niet happy daar.
R: No that is also because they hang about in a group.	R: Nee dat komt ook doordat ze daar met een hele groep staan.
I: Yes.	I: Ja.
R: Yes.	R: Ja.

In the next table we show the choice between ‘yes’ and ‘no’ and how respondents define ‘feeling threatened’.

Table 8.5.2 *Answer and definition of feeling threatened for all three groups taken together (Cohen's kappa = .90).*

Definition of threat	Answer to question		Total
	Yes	No	
Physical threat	100%	-	100% (20)
Just an uncomfortable feeling	46%	54%	100% (46)

Table 8.5.2 shows that two-thirds of the respondents who answered that they ever felt threatened define 'feeling threatened' as "feeling uncomfortable around members of the group" and about one third of them defined it as "physical threat". When respondents defined it as an uncomfortable feeling, about half of them said: "yes, I have felt threatened", whereas the other half of the respondents, mentioning the same uncomfortable feeling answered: "No, I have not felt threatened". Table 8.5.3 shows the impact this can have on the results of a study.

Table 8.5.3 *Influence of the definition of "feeling threatened" on results of a study.*

Group	All R's feeling threatened	All R's feeling uncomfortable and/or experienced physical threat	R's experienced physical threat	n
Allochtonen	21%	26%	9%	77
Muslims	11%	20%	5%	94
Moroccan youths	18%	32%	9%	85

The first column of table 8.5.3 shows the percentage of the respondents that answered 'yes' to the initial question if they have ever felt threatened by (members of) the group. In the second column of table 8.5.3, we present the percentage that results if we include the respondents who said 'no' to the initial question but who did describe an uncomfortable feeling. The results show that the inclusion of these answers in the 'yes'-category, shifts the results enormously. Now, almost one-third of the respondents have ever felt 'threatened' by Moroccan youths, as compared with the 18% by the actual yes and no-decision by the respondent. The percentages increase from 11% to 20% with regard to feeling threatened by Muslims and they increase from 21% to 26% regarding feeling threatened by allochtonen. In contrast, the third column shows the results when the 'yes' answer category only includes those respondents who answered that they experienced physical threat. The table shows that the percentage of answers in the 'yes' answer category decreases a great deal. In case of Moroccan youths, the percentage decreases from 18% to 9%. The percentage decreases from 11% to 5% regarding Muslims and changes from 21% to 9% with regard to allochtonen.

To summarize, the analyses in this section show the impact that differences between respondents in how they define terms used in the question wording can have on the results of a study. In case of the definition of 'feeling threatened' this can lead to under or overestimation of social problems in Dutch society. But more importantly, if different frames used by respondents are not taken into account, the comparability of answers of respondents is endangered.

8.5.3 CONCLUSION

In this section we presented two examples in which the answers to open questions provided us with insights into the frames of reference of respondents. We chose these examples because both examples concern terms that at first sight do not seem very problematic and are often used in daily language, the media but also in survey research. Still, we want to draw attention to the fact that the meanings respondents attach to these expressions may vary. Researchers should be aware that they could not always take for granted that all respondents define terms used in the questionnaire in the same way or as assumed by the researchers.

CHAPTER 9. CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this thesis was to investigate under which conditions the basic assumptions of traditional attitude research hold. These basic assumptions of traditional attitude research are: 1) people have a univocal mental representation of the attitude object as a distinct entity; 2) it is possible to measure evaluations with regard to these representations, and 3) these mental representations are comparable between people, i.e. people attach the same denotative meaning(s) to the attitude object as presented in the questionnaire. Although attitude researchers seldom explicitly mention these assumptions, the definition of attitude objects as mental objects, in contrast with physical objects, imply these assumptions (see for example, Van der Pligt & de Vries, 1995). We were specifically interested to what degree the validity of those assumptions depends on the type of attitude object. In this study, we measured attitudes of Dutch adults toward three different social groups discussed in the public debate and covered in the news in The Netherlands: allochtonen, Muslims and Moroccan youths.

9.1 GENERAL OUTLINE OF THIS STUDY

To test the validity of the basic assumptions mentioned above, we combined the answers of open and closed questions. But we started this study in a way that is common practice in traditional attitude research. We started by using the answers to closed questions to construct scales. Next, we conducted confirmatory factor analyses to test the fit of the attitude model underlying our questionnaire, i.e. the three-component model of Eagly and Chaiken (1993). In this attitude-model an attitude consists of three components, i.e. a cognitive component, an affective component and a conative component.

When the results showed that this initial three-component model did not fit our data, we tried to find a new attitude model. We did find a model that fitted our data better. We used the answers to an open question to gain insight into the logic behind this new attitude model. In addition, open questions were useful to explore the reasons why the relations between the attitude components were topic dependent. Although the answers to open questions enabled us to gain some insight into the differences between the strengths of the correlations, these answers did not explain them sufficiently. In other words, the answer to the open questions did not enable us to explain the differences between the topics of the questionnaire regarding the strength of the correlation between the components completely. Therefore, from that moment on we concentrated on the frames of reference respondents

used with regard to the attitude objects. We focused on the answers to the open questions to answer our main research questions. These are: 1) do respondents attach a univocal denotative meaning to the attitude object? and 2) is there consensus among respondents about this denotative meaning? Finally, we discussed two examples of operational problems in attitude research, i.e. problems due to different meanings attached by respondents to evaluative terms regarding the attitude object as presented in the questionnaire.

9.2 THE STRUCTURE OF ATTITUDES

In this section, we discuss our conclusions with regard to the structure of attitudes of social groups.

9.2.1 THE THREE-COMPONENT MODEL

We designed a questionnaire based on the three-component model of attitudes (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). The questionnaire included a series of questions about cognitions, affections and behavioral intentions toward the three social groups. Scholars have tried, and in some cases succeeded, to fit a three-component model on attitudinal data (e.g. Breckler, 1984).

In this study, we measured attitudes toward three different social groups in The Netherlands, i.e. allochtonen, Muslims and Moroccan youths. One might expect that if there is a general topic independent attitude structure, that the same model will be valid for the answer behavior on the questionnaires about these social groups. We selected these three social groups because they are frequently discussed in public debate and covered in the news in The Netherlands. We tested the three-dimensional attitude structure on the whole dataset and the three samples separately.

Our first result is that the three-component attitude structure did not fit very well and we were not able to confirm our third hypothesis, i.e. a social attitude consists of three components namely, a cognitive, an affective and a behavioral intention component. This result indicates initially that a general attitude structure based on these three components as developed by Eagly and Chaiken (1993) seems to be a pipe dream, at least in this study.

9.2.2 TOWARD A NEW MODEL OF ATTITUDE STRUCTURE

We conducted an exploratory factor analysis to check whether another underlying attitude structure could be found in our data. We did indeed find evidence for another type of attitude structure. This structure only includes two components.

In this new model, one component includes items that could be described as the image respondents have about the social group. Moreover, these items did not involve any statement about how the respondents relate themselves to members of the group in question. The other component included items about the relation between respondents themselves and (members of) the social group. This last component brings back memories of Bogardus's (1925) social distance scale.

We tested the results of the exploratory factor analyses by conducting a confirmatory factor analysis again. This analysis showed that this model seems to be a more adequate representation of the structure of attitudes toward social groups. For all three samples this model fits in with the data. However, we also found a strong effect of questionnaire topics on the correlations between the two factors. As we described in chapter four, the correlations between the two factors were highest in the sample where respondents were asked questions about Moroccan youths and the lowest for the sample where respondents were interviewed about Muslims in The Netherlands. It would be better to perform this second confirmatory factor analysis on a new set of data. Nevertheless, this was not an option in this study because of limitations in both time and money. It would be very interesting for future research to test the new model on other data. Yet, we used the answers to open questions to assemble information that may corroborate the assumed distinction between the two dimensions. We also used these answers to acquire understanding in the topic dependency of the correlations between the two factors.

9.2.3 ATTITUDE STRUCTURE AND ANSWERS TO OPEN QUESTIONS

The results of our quantitative analysis of answers to closed questions constitute a firm base to construct a new attitude model regarding attitudes toward social groups. In this new model one component focuses on the image of the social group and the other one focuses on how respondents relate themselves to (members of) the group.

We used the answers to the open questions to validate the findings of our confirmatory factor analysis. Our first open question focused on the image respondents have of allochtonen, Muslims and Moroccan youths, respectively. We found that half of the respondents, when they are given the opportunity to talk in their own terms about the social group in question, spontaneously make a distinction between the image they have about the social group under investigation and the way they themselves relate to (members of) the group.

We also found in our quantitative analysis that in our new two-component model the strength of the correlation between the two components was topic-dependent. We also found additional proof for this in the answers of respondents to open questions. Respondents who answered the open

questions on Moroccan youths were more likely to mention images that fit in with the way they describe their relation with Moroccan youths. This result was in agreement with our quantitative results and could be considered as a validation of our quantitative results. However the results did not clearly explain the low correlation between the factors for the sample regarding Muslims in The Netherlands. We did find evidence that this may have something to do with the frames of reference respondents have regarding this social group.

In the next section, we focus on the frames of reference used by the respondents when they talk about the attitude object, i.e. the different social groups presented in each of the questionnaires.

9.3 ON THE VALIDITY OF MEASUREMENTS

An important reason for our study is the current state of affairs in the field of attitude research. It is quite astounding that the framing of the attitude object, and the influence this could have with respect to the validity of attitude research, is hardly ever the focus of a study. Although McGuire (1989) states that attitude objects differ in concreteness, so far not much attention has been paid in studies on how this variation of attitude objects effects the validity of the basic assumptions of attitude research. McGuire stated that attitude-objects could be relatively concrete (for example, the attitude object ‘mother’ or ‘son’) but they could also be more complex or even aggregates. It is easy to imagine that if we measure attitudes toward a concrete attitude object, such as ‘mother’, it is more likely that respondents use the same frame of reference in answering the questions. This does not have to mean that all respondents evaluate the attitude object in the same way but there is consensus about the denotative meaning of this attitude object. A different situation occurs when the measurement concerns a less concrete attitude object, like one of social groups in this study, i.e. ‘allochtonen’. In this situation differences among respondents regarding the interpretation of the attitude object seem much more feasible.

9.3.1 THE UNIVOCAL DENOTATIVE MEANING OF THE ATTITUDE OBJECT

In chapter four, we presented the results of our pilot study. In this pilot study we studied the attitudes of students toward Muslims in The Netherlands. The results of our pilot study already indicated that respondents are likely to differentiate the attitude object ‘Muslims’. The majority of the respondents tends to make a distinction between moderate Muslims and extreme Muslims. This indicated a consensus among respondents of a non-univocal denotative meaning of the attitude object ‘Muslims’.

In the main study we added two other social groups. On the one hand, we added the group ‘Moroccan youths’ of which we expected that, on the basis of the way the Dutch media covers this group and the public debate regarding this group, respondents would attach a univocal denotative meaning to this social group and that there would be a consensus among respondents about this denotative meaning. On the other hand, we added the social group ‘allochtonen’ of which we expected that respondents would not attach a univocal denotative meaning to this social group and we expected that there also would be no consensus on the denotative meaning of the term ‘allochtonen’. We formulated six hypotheses regarding the univocal denotative meaning that respondents attach to the attitude object and the consensus among respondents with regard to the denotative meaning of the attitude object, which are:

- 1a. Respondents who are talking about Moroccan youths are more likely to attach one univocal denotative meaning to this group than respondents who are talking about Muslims.
- 1b. Respondents who are talking about Moroccan youths are more likely to attach one univocal denotative meaning to this group than respondents who are talking about allochtonen.
- 1c. Respondents who express feelings toward Moroccan youths are less likely to express mixed feelings than respondents who express feelings toward Muslims.
- 1d. Respondents who express feelings toward Moroccan youths are less likely to express mixed feelings than respondent who express feelings toward allochtonen.
- 2a. It is less likely that there is consensus among respondents about the denotative meaning of the attitude object ‘allochtonen’ than about the denotative meaning of the attitude object ‘Muslims’.
- 2b. It is less likely that there is consensus among respondents about the denotative meaning of the attitude object ‘allochtonen’ than about the denotative meaning of the attitude object ‘Moroccan youths’.

The results of the main study enabled us to confirm five of these six hypotheses mentioned above. We found that respondents assigned a univocal denotative meaning to the attitude object ‘Moroccan youths’ and that there is strong agreement among respondents about this univocal denotative meaning.

Respondents talking about Moroccan youths differed from the respondents who talked about Muslims and allochtonen, in that the vast majority of these respondents did not differentiate this social group. The finding, that respondents did not differentiate the group 'Moroccan youths', indicates that respondents have a univocal image of this social group. Moreover, the majority of the respondents assigned the same type of behavioral predicates to this social group right away. So with regard to Moroccan youths, respondents start evaluating the social group without expressing doubt about the univocalness of the group. We also find it striking that the majority of the evaluations respondents expressed about this group while answering open questions were negative toward Moroccan youths.

Respondents who were interviewed about allochtonen did not attach a univocal denotative meaning to this group and there is not much agreement among respondents about the denotative meaning of this attitude object. In this case, respondents talked about a wide variety of social groups. We also found that respondents switched between social groups depending on the topic of the question. For example, a respondent talked about Muslims when the topic of the questionnaire was religion, he talked about Asians when the topic of the question focused on adjustment and talked about Moroccan youths when the topic of the questions was on threat. Talking about allochtonen, respondents were also likely to differentiate allochtonen in all kinds of social groups, for instance, Turks versus Moroccans, Asians versus Turks, westernized allochtonen versus allochtonen who remain aloof from Dutch society and so on.

The results regarding Muslims were in accordance with the results of our pilot study. The majority of the respondents made a distinction between moderate and extreme Muslims. This differentiation of the social group 'Muslims' indicates that respondents did not assign a univocal denotative meaning to this group. However, we found strong agreement among respondents about this non-univocal denotative meaning of the attitude object 'Muslims'.

We were not able to confirm both hypotheses with regard to the expression of feelings. We found that respondents were more likely to express mixed feelings toward Muslims than toward Moroccan youths, but about the same number of respondents expressed mixed feelings toward Moroccan youths and allochtonen. We argue that this could have something to do with the fact that respondents were most likely to express just neutral (not outspoken) feelings toward allochtonen.

9.3.2 THE ATTITUDE OBJECT AND ANSWERS TO CLOSED QUESTIONS

The results of our pilot study indicated that differentiation of the attitude object while answering open questions might influence the answer behavior on a comparable open question. This result led us to the following hypothesis:

Respondents, who differentiate the attitude object while answering the open question, are more likely to choose a moderate answer category when answering a corresponding closed question than respondents who do not differentiate the attitude object while answering the open question.

The results of our main study confirm this relation: when respondents differentiated the attitude object into subgroups and held contradicting opinions toward these subgroups they were more likely to choose a moderate answer category while answering a corresponding closed question.

This is a very interesting result, since the answers in the moderate answer category are most of the time considered as indicators of a more or less neutral attitude toward the attitude object. Our study shows that this is a rather biased interpretation of the choice of moderate answer categories. In the case where respondents differentiate the social group as presented in the question, and have opposing opinions about two (or more) subgroups, they actually do not have one position on the evaluative dimension of 'the' attitude to the social group in question. In other words, one could state that they did not express an attitude toward the attitude object as assumed by the questionnaire.

In summary, attitude researchers should take into account that this alternative interpretation of the choice of moderate answer categories could be more adequate than the traditional interpretation of this choice as being a neutral attitude toward the attitude object.

9.3.3 IMPLICATIONS FOR ATTITUDE RESEARCH

The results mentioned in the previous sections are intriguing, but the main question remains: What are the implications for the basic assumptions of attitude research?

We argue that only if respondents attach a univocal denotative meaning to the attitude object and if there is agreement among respondents about this denotative meaning, the basic assumptions of attitude research can be accepted.

In contrast, we do expect severe problems with regard to the validity of attitude research in the case of a less univocal denotative meaning of the attitude object and in the case of dissensus among respondents about the denotative meaning of the attitude object.

We will describe two problems with respect to this kind of attitude object:

1. Respondents do not attach a univocal denotative meaning of the attitude object.
2. There is no consensus among respondents about the denotative meaning of the attitude object.

If respondents do not attach a univocal denotative meaning to the attitude object, two processes may occur. First, respondents answering a closed question differentiate the attitude object and hold contradicting opinions toward these subparts. Respondents now can ‘average’ their opinions toward the subparts and choose one of the moderate answer categories while answering closed questions about the attitude object. When all respondents do this consistently, this does not have to lead to low inter-item correlations. After all, if all respondents choose consistently the moderate answer categories the inter-item correlations are not influenced, because the answer behavior of the respondents is consistent.

The second process we want to describe is the process in which respondents shift between subparts of the attitude object during the interview. In contrast with the first process this could lead to low inter-item correlations, given that respondents hold contradicting attitudes toward the subparts of the attitude object they are shifting between. For example, respondents can have moderate Muslims in mind toward they have a positive attitude, while answering a certain question, and think of Muslim extremist toward they have a negative attitude, while answering another question.

Both processes have an effect on the validity of attitude measurements, because it cannot be taken for granted that all respondents are talking about the attitude object as assumed by the designer of the questionnaire. As a consequence, the comparability of answers of respondents is at danger. Finally, the reliability of attitude measurements may become rather low.

9.4 OPERATIONAL PROBLEMS

Apart from the major conceptual problem of attitude research, operational problems could occur. This happens when respondents do not use the same frame of reference in interpreting terms used in the assertion to evaluate the attitude object. Hence, an underlying assumption in attitude research is that people use the same frame of reference with regard to the evaluative predicates presented in the assertion. We studied two examples of operational problems.

9.4.1 ‘ADAPTATION TO DUTCH SOCIETY’

The expression “foreigners should adapt to Dutch society” is often heard in the media and in daily conversations. Also in attitude research about multiculturalism and/or immigration this assertion is

often part of a questionnaire. Therefore, we asked respondents: “Do you think that the allochtonen in The Netherlands adapt well enough to Dutch society?” After the respondent answered the initial question, the interviewers probed what the respondent considers ‘well enough adapted’. Using the answers to this probe, we found that respondents’ interpretations of this expression ranged from ‘just respecting Dutch law’ to ‘complete assimilation to the Dutch way of life’. It is not hard to imagine that when a respondent says that he ‘fully agrees’ with the assertion “By far most Muslims are well adapted to Dutch society” and he considers ‘well adapted’ as just respecting Dutch law, this ‘fully agree’ means something different than the ‘fully agree’ of a respondent who considers ‘well adapted’ as a complete assimilation to Dutch society.

9.4.2 ‘FEELING THREATENED’

The second example focuses on the term ‘feeling threatened’. We first asked respondents the ‘yes-or-no’ question “Have you ever felt threatened by (e.g.) Moroccan youths?” After asking this question the interviewer was instructed to probe on the respondent’s answer by asking respondents to tell something more about it.

The answers to the initial ‘yes-or-no’ question were coded with ‘yes’ or ‘no’. During the coding of the answers to the probe, we detected that respondents did not use the same frame of reference with regard to the term ‘felt threatened’ as posed in the question. A substantial group of respondents reported having an uncomfortable feeling with respect to the social group in question, but half of the respondents who reported this feeling answered the initial question with ‘yes’, while the other half of the respondents reporting the same uncomfortable feeling answered the initial question with ‘no’. We argue that the first group defined ‘feeling threatened’ in a broader way than the group of respondents who defined ‘feeling threatened’ as ‘physical threat’. When a researcher does not know these differences in interpretation, she could easily misinterpret the answers to the initial question. We showed in chapter eight that different interpretations by the respondents of this term could have a substantial effect on the results of a study.

9.4.3. IMPLICATIONS FOR ATTITUDE RESEARCH

In contrast with the earlier described conceptual problem with regard to the framing of the attitude objects by respondents, we consider operational problems as measurement problems. The variation in the way respondents define terms used in the questions is the main problem in both examples. Open

questions can be used to detect these kinds of problems. The information then can be used to interpret answer patterns on closed questions or to reformulate closed questions.

9.5 USING OPEN QUESTIONS IN LARGE-SCALE ATTITUDE RESEARCH

In this study, we asked about three hundred respondents both open and closed questions about their attitudes toward allochtonen, Muslims or Moroccan youths, respectively. This thesis proves that asking both open and closed questions provided us with insights that we were not able to gain if we had asked only closed questions.

This study is also one of the few studies that use a qualitative approach to such a large sample. The size of the sample enabled us to compare between groups in a statistical way, but that came with limitations regarding the kind and the number of codes applied. We argue that the coding with such large samples has to be as scarce as possible. Otherwise the coding would be too time consuming and if one wants to conduct in-depth conversation - or discourse analysis - it is hardly possible to use such a large amount of data.

A major question now is: “Is the use of open questions worth the effort?” It goes without saying that processing answers to open questions is more time consuming than processing answers to closed questions. Every researcher should make the decision whether or not it is necessary to add open questions to the questionnaire. We argue that our study shows that it is necessary if there are any doubts about the validity of the basic assumptions of attitude research. In this study all respondents answered open and closed questions, but this thesis had a methodological goal and therefore it was worth the effort. We argue that in the every day practice of attitude research it is more feasible to combine the two question formats in a smaller sample. Furthermore, such a mixed methods approach is only worthwhile when the attitude object is complex or is an aggregate. In that case, the answers to open questions provide researchers with indispensable insights into the conceptual and operational assumptions of the attitude measurement.

9.6 SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Our study raises a new set of questions about the structure of attitudes and the framing of attitude objects by respondents.

9.6.1 THE STRUCTURE OF ATTITUDES

From this study, a new type of attitude structure emerges, that is, a two-component model in which one component concerns the image the respondent has about the group and the other component concerns the relation between the respondent and (members of) the social group.

This study focused on attitudes toward social groups and it is interesting to check if this attitude structure holds in other fields of attitude research. We can imagine that this type of structure can also hold for other attitudes, such as attitudes toward products, freedom or democracy. For example, let us consider the measurement of attitudes toward a certain brand. In this case, the first component can hold items about the image the respondent has about a certain brand and the second component then includes items regarding how the respondent as a consumer relates to that brand.

9.6.2 REPLICATION OF RESULTS IN OTHER SITUATIONS

One of the major results in this study concerns the importance of the basic assumptions of attitude research (i.e. the univocal denotative meaning of attitude objects and the consensus among respondents about this denotative meaning) for the validity of attitude research. However, this study focused on a specific domain of attitude research, namely that of attitudes toward social groups. Further research could investigate whether our findings also hold in other domains of attitude research.

The data for this study was collected in the six weeks directly after the assassination of the Dutch filmmaker Theo van Gogh by a young Muslim extremist. This extraordinary moment in the history of the Dutch multi-cultural society could have influenced the results of our study. During this period there was massive attention in the media for Muslims and Muslim extremists. It would be interesting to check if the results presented in this thesis, especially with regard to Muslims, also hold in a period of time when the attention in the media is not that focused on problems regarding the Dutch immigrant population. However, this study gives hope about how people think and talk about the Islamic population in The Netherlands. Even in a time in which the whole media were filled with news about Muslim extremists, the overwhelming majority of respondents still made distinctions between moderate and extremist Muslims when talking and answering questions about this social group. This result indicates that almost all respondents realized that the murderer of Theo van Gogh, Mohammed B., is not representative of the whole Islamic population in The Netherlands, but just represents a small group of radical Muslims.

9.7 RECOMMENDATIONS

The results presented in this study show that the use of both open and closed questions provides us with insights regarding the conditions necessary for the fulfillment of the basic assumptions of attitude research. We will end this chapter with the two most important recommendations that resulted from the results of our study, that is:

- The use of open question can provide researchers with insights into the validity of confirmatory factor analyses. More specifically, answers to open questions can provide the researcher with additional proof about the structure of attitudes.
- The choice of a respondent for a moderate answer category ('partly agree', 'do not agree/do not disagree', partly disagree') while answering closed questions could be an indicator of a respondent averaging contrasting opinions with regard to subparts of the attitude object.
- Always check whether it is feasible to assume that respondents attach a univocal denotative meaning to the attitude object.
- Using solely closed questions for the measurement of attitudes is no problem if it is plausible to assume that the respondents attach a univocal denotative meaning to the attitude object and if there is consensus among respondents about this denotative meaning of the attitude object.
- Including open questions for the measurement of attitudes is necessary if the attitude object is ambiguous. This ambiguity may derive from the complexity of an attitude object but also because the attitude object is an aggregate. In this situation, including at least one open question on how respondents frame the attitude object is essential to validate the results of the study and to test the comparability of the results between individual respondents or between categories of respondents.

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APPENDIX A: THE QUESTIONNAIRE USED IN THE PILOT STUDY

In this appendix, we present one of the questionnaires used in the pilot study in Dutch. We used two versions of this questionnaire. Those two versions differed regarding question order, i.e. respondents were either first asked open questions or first asked assertions.

Goede..., welkom bij dit interview. Ik wil beginnen met kort de bedoeling van dit interview uiteen te zetten. Dit is een pilotonderzoek ter voorbereiding van een onderzoek naar de houding van autochtonen ten aanzien van Moslims in Nederland. Ik vraag u dus straks naar uw mening over Moslims in Nederland. Wilt u de vragen zo accuraat en volledig mogelijk beantwoorden. Ik neem dit interview op deze computer op. Uw antwoorden zullen anoniem verwerkt worden. Niemand zal ooit nog kunnen achterhalen wie ze gegeven heeft. Het is dus allemaal volstrekt vertrouwelijk. Meestal neemt dit interview zo'n 20 minuten in beslag.

Ik begin met het voorleggen van een aantal stellingen over Moslims in Nederland. Bij deze stellingen is het de bedoeling dat u aangeeft of u het met de betreffende stellingen zeer mee eens, tamelijk mee eens, niet mee eens/niet mee oneens, tamelijk mee oneens of zeer mee oneens bent. Wanneer u over de betreffende stelling geen mening heeft kunt u dit ook aangeven. Ik lees de stelling voor en op het beeldscherm staan de antwoordmogelijkheden.

De eerste stelling is:

1. De Islamitische cultuur en de Nederlandse cultuur kunnen best naast elkaar bestaan.
2. Religieuze leiders van de Moslims in Nederland moedigen hun volgelingen aan tot geloofsfanatisme.
3. Verreweg de meeste Moslims in Nederland zijn tolerant ten aanzien van mensen met andere religies.
4. De Nederlandse overheid moet Islamitische organisaties in Nederland extra controleren.
5. Verreweg de meeste Moslims in Nederland zijn fundamentalistisch in hun geloofsovertuiging.
6. De waarden die Moslims in Nederland aanhangen vormen een bedreiging voor de Nederlandse waarden.
7. Verreweg de meeste Moslims in Nederland willen zich aanpassen aan de Nederlandse samenleving.
8. Verreweg de meeste Moslims in Nederland zijn intolerant ten aanzien van homoseksuelen.

Nu volgen een aantal algemene vragen.

De eerste vraag luidt:

1. Wat is uw geboortjaar?
2. Wat is uw postcode van uw woonadres?

3. Wat is uw hoogst genoten opleiding?.....
4. Volgt u, in het algemeen, de nieuwsberichten op televisie? *(ja/ nee)*
- 4b. Welke nieuwsonderwerpen interesseren u het meest?
5. Leest u, in het algemeen, een krant? *(ja/ nee)*
- 5a. Welke krant?
6. Interesseert u zich voor politiek?
7. Als er nu verkiezingen zouden zijn op welke partij zou u dan stemmen?.....
- 7a. Kunt u dat nader toelichten?

Ik wil nog even terugkomen op de Moslims in Nederland. De thema's uit de stellingen zullen terugkomen, maar nu gaat het erom dat u uw eigen mening verwoordt.

De eerste vraag luidt:

1. Sommigen zijn van mening dat de Islamitische cultuur en de Nederlandse cultuur onverenigbaar zijn. Anderen zijn juist van mening dat beide culturen best naast elkaar kunnen bestaan. Wat is uw mening hierover?
2. Sommigen zijn van mening dat religieuze leiders van Moslims in Nederland hun volgelingen niet aanzetten tot geloofsfanatisme. Anderen zijn weer van mening dat de religieuze leiders hun volgelingen wel aanzetten tot geloofsfanatisme. Wat is uw mening hierover?
3. Sommigen zijn van mening dat verreweg de meeste Moslims in Nederland intolerant zijn ten aanzien van mensen met andere religies. Anderen zijn weer van mening dat verreweg de meeste Moslims in Nederland *tolerant* zijn ten aanzien van mensen met andere religies. Wat is uw mening hierover?
4. Sommigen zijn van mening dat de Nederlandse overheid Islamitische organisaties in Nederland op dezelfde manier moet behandelen als ander godsdienstige organisaties. Anderen zijn van mening dat de Nederlandse overheid Islamitische organisaties in Nederland extra moet controleren. Wat is uw mening hierover?
5. Sommigen zijn van mening dat verreweg de meeste Moslims in Nederland gematigd zijn in hun geloofsovertuiging. Anderen zijn van mening dat verreweg de meeste Moslims fundamentalistisch zijn in hun geloofsovertuiging. Wat is uw mening hierover?
6. Sommigen zijn van mening dat de waarden die Moslims in Nederland aanhangen geen bedreiging vormen voor de Nederlandse waarden. Anderen zijn van mening dat de waarden die Moslims aanhangen *wel een* bedreiging vormen voor de Nederlandse waarden. Wat is uw mening hierover?

7. Sommigen zijn van mening dat bij verreweg de meeste Moslims in Nederland de bereidheid om zich aan te willen passen aan de Nederlandse samenleving ontbreekt. Anderen zijn van mening dat zij zich wel willen aanpassen. Wat is uw mening hierover?
8. Sommigen zijn van mening dat verreweg de meeste Moslims in Nederland tolerant zijn ten aanzien van homoseksuelen. Anderen zijn van mening dat verreweg de meeste Moslims in Nederland intolerant zijn ten aanzien van deze groep. Wat is uw mening hierover?

Ik wil graag eindigen met een aantal korte vragen over Moslims.

De eerste vraag luidt:

1. Aan welke bevolkingsgroepen in Nederland denkt u bij het woord “Moslims”?
2. Hoeveel procent van de bevolking van Nederland is volgens u Moslim?
3. Hoeveel moskeeën denkt u dat er in Nederland zijn?
4. Heeft u Moslims onder uw vrienden? *Ja/nee*
5. Denkt u dat het percentage Moslims in uw buurt boven of onder het landelijke percentage ligt?
- 5a. Kent u enkele Moslims uit uw buurt persoonlijk? *(ja/nee)*
6. Kunt u mij zeggen hoe het Heilige boek van de Moslims heet?
7. Weet u wat de “Ramadan” is?
8. Kunt u mij zeggen hoeveel keer per dag de gelovige Moslims hun gebeden moeten opzeggen?
9. Weet u wat de 5 zuilen van de Islam zijn?

Met deze laatste vraag wil ik dit interview beëindigen en u hartelijk danken voor uw medewerking!

Wat vond je van het interview en de vragen?

APPENDIX B: QUESTIONNAIRES USED IN THE MAIN STUDY

There were two versions of each of the three questionnaires, i.e. respondents were either first asked open questions or first asked assertions. We present one of the questionnaires for each of the three questionnaires.

QUESTIONNAIRE: ALLOCHTONEN (VERSION 1)

Goede..., welkom bij dit interview. Ik wil beginnen met kort iets over dit interview te vertellen. Dit onderzoek wordt uitgevoerd in opdracht van de Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam en is een onderzoek naar opvattingen over allochtonen in Nederland. Zoals u weet kunnen deze opvattingen tussen mensen nogal verschillen. In dit interview zal ik u stellingen voor gaan leggen en u vragen in hoeverre u het eens of oneens bent met deze stellingen. Ook zal ik u een aantal open vragen stellen, bij deze vragen krijgt u de mogelijkheid om uw mening in uw eigen woorden te vertellen. Ik neem dit interview op zodat ik niet hoeft te schrijven. Uw antwoorden zullen anoniem verwerkt worden en dit interview zal zo'n 20 minuten duren.

Ik begin met u een aantal stellingen voor te leggen over allochtonen in Nederland. Bij deze stellingen is het de bedoeling dat u aangeeft of u het met de stelling 'zeer mee eens', 'tamelijk mee eens', 'niet mee eens / niet mee oneens', 'tamelijk mee oneens' of 'zeer mee oneens' bent. Wanneer u over een stelling geen mening heeft kunt u dit ook aangeven. Ik lees de stellingen voor en hier heeft u een kaartje met daarop de antwoordmogelijkheden.

1. Verreweg de meeste allochtonen¹² willen zich **aanpassen** aan de Nederlandse **samenleving**.
2. In het algemeen vind ik allochtonen **vriendelijk**.
3. Ik kan in een **buurt** wonen waar de **meerderheid** van de **buurtbewoners** allochtonen zijn.
4. Als ik een groepje allochtonen op **straat** zie staan, loop ik hier met een **boogje** om **heen**.
5. Verreweg de meeste allochtonen zijn **tolerant** ten aanzien van **anders** denkenden.
6. Ik heb liever **Nederlanders** dan allochtonen als **collega's**.
7. Ik vind dat we allochtonen altijd op **dezelfde** manier moeten behandelen als andere Nederlanders.
8. Verreweg de meeste allochtonen houden zich **afzijdig** van de Nederlandse **samenleving**.
9. Ik vind het een **probleem** om mijn kinderen naar een **school** te sturen waar allochtonen de **meerderheid** vormen.
10. Allochtonen hebben **veel** over voor hun **familie**.

¹² Interviewers were instructed to put emphasis on the bold-printed parts of the question.

11. Verreweg de meeste alloch**tonen** kijken **neer** op homoseksuelen.
12. Ik **erger** me vaak aan het ged**rag** van alloch**tonen** op **straat**.
13. Ik kan **vriend**schap sluiten met alloch**tonen**.
14. Ik ervaar de **houding** van alloch**tonen** ten aanzien van **andere** Nederlanders als **positief**.
15. Ik vind het **vervelend** om met een groep alloch**tonen** in een **bus** te zitten.
16. In het algemeen vind ik alloch**tonen** **betrouwbaar**.
17. De aanwezigheid van alloch**tonen** in Nederland is een **verrijking** van de **Nederlandse** **samenleving**.
18. Ik ervaar de aan**wezigheid** van alloch**tonen** in de **Nederlandse** **samenleving** als **bedreigend**.
19. Ik vind het een **probleem** om een alloch**toon** als **chef** te hebben.
20. Alloch**tonen** worden **gediscrimineerd** bij het vinden van een **baan**.

Ik wil u nu graag een aantal open vragen stellen. Bij deze vragen kunt u uw mening in uw eigen woorden vertellen.

21. Welk beeld roept het woord ‘alloch**tonen**’ bij **u** op?
*Roept het woord **verder** nog gedachten bij u op?*
22. Wat voor **gevoelens** roept het woord ‘alloch**tonen**’ bij **u** op?
*Maakt het woord **verder** nog emoties bij u los?*
23. Zijn er volgens **u** verschillen tussen alloch**tonen** en **andere** Nederlanders?
Kunt u dit nader toelichten?
24. Zijn er volgens u verschillen tussen alloch**tonen** onder**ling**?
Kunt u dit nader toelichten?
25. Vindt **u** dat alloch**tonen** zich **voldoende** of **onvoldoende** aanpassen aan de Nederlandse **samenleving**?
Kunt u daar iets meer over vertellen?
*Wat verstaat **u** eigenlijk onder ‘voldoende aanpassen’?*
26. Wat vindt **u** van de **houding** van alloch**tonen** ten aanzien van **andere** Nederlanders?
Kunt u daar iets meer over vertellen?
27. Heeft u zich wel een **bedreigd** gevoeld door alloch**tonen**?

28. Wat vindt u van de **beeld**vorming van alloch**tonen** in de Nederlandse **media**?

Waarom is dit volgens u zo?

Nu volgen er een aantal korte vragen.

29. Kent u enkele alloch**tonen** uit uw buurt **persoonlijk**?

Antwoordcategorieën: 1 = Ja, 2 = Nee, 3 = N.v.t., want ze wonen er niet.

30. Heeft u alloch**tonen** onder uw **vrienden**?

Antwoordcategorieën: 1 = Ja, 2 = Nee.

31. Hoeveel **procent** van de Nederlandse bevo**lking** is volgens u alloch**toon**?

32. Hoeveel **procent** van de alloch**tonen** komt volgens u regelmatig in aanraking met justitie?

Ik wil dit interview graag beëindigen met een aantal algemene vragen.

33. Wat is uw geboortejaar?

34. Wat is de hoogste opleiding waarvan u het diploma heeft?

35. Leest u een krant? (*ja/nee*)

Antwoordcategorieën: 1 = Ja, 2 = Nee, 3 = Soms.

Zo ja of soms: Welke krant?

36. Volgt u het nieuws op televisie?

Antwoordcategorieën: 1 = Ja, 2 = Nee, 3 = Soms.

Zo ja of soms: Op welke zender of zenders?

37. Heeft u bij de vorige tweede kamer verkiezingen in januari 2003 gestemd?

Zo ja: Op welke partij?

Met deze laatste vraag wil ik dit interview beëindigen en u hartelijk danken voor uw medewerking!

QUESTIONNAIRE: MUSLIMS (VERSION 1)

Goede..., welkom bij dit interview. Ik wil beginnen met kort iets over dit interview te vertellen. Dit onderzoek wordt uitgevoerd in opdracht van de Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam en is een onderzoek naar opvattingen over moslims in Nederland. Zoals u weet kunnen deze opvattingen tussen mensen nogal verschillen. In dit interview zal ik u stellingen voor gaan leggen en u vragen in hoeverre u het eens of oneens bent met deze stellingen. Ook zal ik u een aantal open vragen stellen, bij deze vragen krijgt u de mogelijkheid om uw mening in uw eigen woorden te vertellen. Ik neem dit interview op

zodat ik niet hoeft te schrijven. Uw antwoorden zullen anoniem verwerkt worden en dit interview zal zo'n 20 minuten duren.

Ik begin met u een aantal stellingen voor te leggen over moslims in Nederland. Bij deze stellingen is het de bedoeling dat u aangeeft of u het met de stelling 'zeer mee eens', 'tamelijk mee eens', 'niet mee eens / niet mee oneens', 'tamelijk mee oneens' of 'zeer mee oneens' bent. Wanneer u over een stelling geen mening heeft kunt u dit ook aangeven. Ik lees de stellingen voor en hier heeft u een kaartje met daarop de antwoordmogelijkheden.

1. Verreweg de meeste **moslims** willen zich **aanpassen** aan de Nederlandse **samenleving**.
2. In het algemeen vind ik **moslims** **vriendelijk**.
3. Verreweg de meeste **moslims** zijn **fundamentalistisch** in hun **geloofsovertuiging**.
4. Ik kan in een **buurt** wonen waar de **meerderheid** van de **buurtbewoners** **moslims** zijn.
5. Als ik een groepje **moslims** op **straat** zie staan, loop ik hier met een **boogje** om **heen**.
6. Verreweg de meeste **moslims** zijn **tolerant** ten aanzien van **anders** denkenden.
7. Ik heb liever **Nederlanders** dan **moslims** als **collega's**.
8. Ik vind dat we **moslims** altijd op **dezelfde** manier moeten behandelen als andere Nederlanders.
9. Verreweg de meeste **moslims** houden zich **afzijdig** van de Nederlandse **samenleving**.
10. Ik vind het een **probleem** om mijn kinderen naar een **school** te sturen waar **moslims** de **meerderheid** vormen.
11. **Moslims** hebben **veel** over voor hun **familie**.
12. Verreweg de meeste **moslims** kijken **neer** op **homoseksuelen**.
13. Ik **erger** me vaak aan het **gedrag** van **moslims** op **straat**.
14. Ik kan **vriendschap** sluiten met **moslims**.
15. Ik ervaar de **houding** van **moslims** ten aanzien van **andere** Nederlanders als **positief**.
16. Ik vind het **vervelend** om met een groep **moslims** in een **bus** te zitten.
17. In het algemeen vind ik **moslims** **betrouwbaar**.
18. De aanwezigheid van **moslims** in Nederland is een **verrijking** van de **Nederlandse** **samenleving**.
19. Ik ervaar de **aanwezigheid** van **moslims** in de **Nederlandse** **samenleving** als **bedreigend**.

20. Ik vind het een **probleem** om een **moslim** als **chef** te hebben.
21. **Moslims** worden gediscrimineerd bij het vinden van een **baan**.

Ik wil u nu graag een aantal open vragen stellen. Bij deze vragen kunt u uw mening in uw eigen woorden vertellen.

22. Welk beeld roept het woord '**moslims**' bij u op?
Roept het woord verder nog gedachten bij u op?
23. Wat voor gevoelens roept het woord '**moslims**' bij u op?
Maakt het woord verder nog emoties bij u los?
24. Zijn er volgens u verschillen tussen **moslims** en andere Nederlanders?
Kunt u dit nader toelichten?
25. Zijn er volgens u verschillen tussen **moslims** onderling?
Kunt u dit nader toelichten?
26. Vindt u dat **moslims** zich voldoende of onvoldoende aanpassen aan de Nederlandse samenleving?
Kunt u daar iets meer over vertellen?
Wat verstaat u eigenlijk onder 'voldoende aanpassen'?
27. Wat vindt u van de houding van **moslims** ten aanzien van anders denkenden?
Kunt u daar iets meer over vertellen?
28. Heeft u zich wel eens bedreigd gevoeld door **moslims**?
29. Wat vindt u van de beeldvorming van **moslims** in de Nederlandse media?
Waarom is dit volgens u zo?

Nu volgen er een aantal korte vragen.

30. Kent u enkele **moslims** uit uw buurt persoonlijk?
Antwoordcategorieën: 1 = Ja, 2 = Nee, 3 = N.v.t., want ze wonen er niet.
31. Heeft u **moslims** onder uw vrienden?
Antwoordcategorieën: 1 = Ja, 2 = Nee.
32. Hoeveel procent van de Nederlandse bevolking is volgens u **moslim**?
33. Hoeveel moskeeën denkt u dat er in Nederland zijn?
34. Hoe heet het heilige boek van de **moslims**?

35. Wanneer vieren **moslims** het **suikerfeest**?

36. Hoeveel keer per dag moeten **moslims** hun **gebeden** opzeggen?

Ik wil dit interview graag beëindigen met een aantal algemene vragen.

37. Wat is uw geboortejaar?

38. Wat is de hoogste opleiding waarvan u het diploma heeft?

39. Leest u een krant? (*ja/nee*)

Antwoordcategorieën: 1 = Ja, 2 = Nee, 3 = Soms.

Zo ja of soms: *Welke krant?*

40. Volgt u het nieuws op televisie?

Antwoordcategorieën: 1 = Ja, 2 = Nee, 3 = Soms.

Zo ja of soms: *Op welke zender of zenders?*

41. Heeft u bij de vorige tweede kamer verkiezingen in januari 2003 gestemd?

Zo ja: *Op welke partij?*

Met deze laatste vraag wil ik dit interview beëindigen en u hartelijk danken voor uw medewerking!

QUESTIONNAIRE: MOROCCAN YOUTHS (VERSION 2)

Goede..., welkom bij dit interview. Ik wil beginnen met kort iets over dit interview te vertellen. Dit onderzoek wordt uitgevoerd in opdracht van de Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam en is een onderzoek naar opvattingen over Marokkaanse jongeren in Nederland. Zoals u weet kunnen deze opvattingen tussen mensen nogal verschillen. In dit interview zal ik u stellingen voor gaan leggen en u vragen in hoeverre u het eens of oneens bent met deze stellingen. Ook zal ik u een aantal open vragen stellen, bij deze vragen krijgt u de mogelijkheid om uw mening in uw eigen woorden te vertellen. Ik neem dit interview op zodat ik niet hoeft te schrijven. Uw antwoorden zullen anoniem verwerkt worden en dit interview zal zo'n 20 minuten duren.

Ik wil beginnen met u een aantal open vragen te stellen over Marokkaanse jongeren in Nederland. Bij deze vragen kunt u uw mening in uw eigen woorden vertellen.

1. Welk beeld roept het woord 'Marok**ka**anse jongeren' bij u op?

*Roept het woord **verder** nog gedachten bij u op?*

2. Wat voor **gevoelens** roept het woord 'Marok**ka**anse jongeren' bij u op?

*Maakt het woord **verder** nog emoties bij u los?*

3. Zijn er volgens **u** verschillen tussen Marok**kaan**se jongeren en **andere** Nederlandse jongeren?

Kunt u dit nader toelichten?

4. Zijn er volgens **u** verschillen tussen Marok**kaan**se jongeren onder**ling**?

Kunt u dit nader toelichten?

5. Vindt **u** dat Marok**kaan**se jongeren zich voldoende of onvoldoende aanpassen aan de Nederlandse samenleving?

Kunt u daar iets meer over vertellen?

*Wat verstaat **u** eigenlijk onder 'voldoende aanpassen'?*

6. Wat vindt **u** van de **houding** van Marok**kaan**se jongeren ten aanzien van **andere** denkenden?

Kunt u daar iets meer over vertellen?

7. Heeft u zich wel eens bedreigd gevoeld door Marok**kaan**se jongeren?

8. Wat vindt u van de **beeld**vorming van Marok**kaan**se jongeren in de Nederlandse **media**?

*Waarom is dit volgens **u** zo?*

*Ik leg u nu een aantal stellingen voor over Marok**kaan**se jongeren in Nederland. Bij deze stellingen is het de bedoeling dat u aangeeft of u het met de stelling 'zeer mee eens', 'tamelijk mee eens', 'niet mee eens / niet mee oneens', 'tamelijk mee oneens' of 'zeer mee oneens' bent. Wanneer u over een stelling geen mening heeft kunt u dit ook aangeven. Ik lees de stellingen voor en hier heeft u een kaartje met daarop de antwoordmogelijkheden.*

9. Verreweg de meeste Marok**kaan**se jongeren willen zich **aanpassen** aan de Nederlandse **samenleving**.

10. In het algemeen vind ik Marok**kaan**se jongeren **vriendelijk**.

11. Marok**kaan**se jongeren zijn on**handel**baar.

12. Ik kan in een **buurt** wonen waar de **meerderheid** van de **buurtbewoners** Marok**kaan**se jongeren zijn.

13. Als ik een groepje Marok**kaan**se jongeren op **straat** zie staan, loop ik hier met een **boogje** om **heen**.

14. Verreweg de meeste Marok**kaan**se jongeren zijn **tolerant** ten aanzien van **andere** denkenden.

15. Ik heb liever **Nederlanders** dan Marok**kaan**se jongeren als collega's.

16. Ik vind dat we Marok**kaan**se jongeren altijd op **dezelfde** manier moeten behandelen als andere Nederlanders.

17. Verreweg de meeste Marok**kaan**se jongeren houden zich **afzijdig** van de Nederlandse **samenleving**.
18. Ik vind het een **probleem** om mijn kinderen naar een **school** te sturen waar Marok**kaan**se jongeren de **meerderheid** vormen.
19. Marok**kaan**se jongeren hebben **veel** over voor hun **familie**.
20. Verreweg de meeste Marok**kaan**se jongeren kijken **neer** op homoseksuelen.
21. Ik **erger** me vaak aan het **gedrag** van Marok**kaan**se jongeren op **straat**.
22. Ik kan **vriendschap** sluiten met Marok**kaan**se jongeren.
23. Ik ervaar de **houding** van Marok**kaan**se jongeren ten aanzien van **andere** Nederlanders als **positief**.
24. Ik vind het **vervelend** om met een groep Marok**kaan**se jongeren in een **bus** te zitten.
25. In het algemeen vind ik Marok**kaan**se jongeren **betrouwbaar**.
26. Ik ervaar de **aanwezigheid** van Marok**kaan**se jongeren in de **Nederlandse samenleving** als **bedreigend**.
27. Marok**kaan**se jongeren worden **gediscrimineerd** bij het vinden van een **baan**.

Nu volgen er een aantal korte vragen.

28. Kent u enkele Marok**kaan**se jongeren uit uw buurt **persoonlijk**?

Antwoordcategorieën: 1 = Ja, 2 = Nee, 3 = N.v.t., want ze wonen er niet.

29. Heeft u Marok**kaan**se jongeren onder uw **vrienden**?

Antwoordcategorieën: 1 = Ja, 2 = Nee.

30. Hoeveel **procent** van de Nederlandse **jongeren** is volgens u Marok**kaans**?

31. Hoeveel **procent** van de Marok**kaan**se jongeren komt volgens u regelmatig in aanraking met **justitie**?

Ik wil dit interview graag beëindigen met een aantal algemene vragen.

32. Wat is uw geboortjaar?

33. Wat is de hoogste opleiding waarvan u het diploma heeft?

34. Leest u een krant? (*ja/nee*)

Antwoordcategorieën: 1 = Ja, 2 = Nee, 3 = Soms.

Zo ja of soms: *Welke krant?*

35. Volgt u het nieuws op televisie?

Antwoordcategorieën: 1 = Ja, 2 = Nee, 3 = Soms.

Zo ja of soms: *Op welke zender of zenders?*

36. Heeft u bij de vorige tweede kamer verkiezingen in januari 2003 gestemd?

Zo ja: *Op welke partij?*

Met deze laatste vraag wil ik dit interview beëindigen en u hartelijk danken voor uw medewerking!

APPENDIX C: CORRELATION MATRICES FOR EACH OF THE THREE SAMPLES

In this appendix, we present the correlation matrices for the samples of allochtonen, Muslims and Moroccan youths.

Table C.1 *Pearson correlations for sample: Allochtonen*

	C1	C2	C3	C4	C6	C9	B1	B2	B3	B4	B5	B6	A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	A6
C1	1																	
C2	.34	1																
C3	.34	.11	1															
C4	.40	.32	.33	1														
C6	.01	.02	-.04	-.01	1													
C9	.03	.07	.17	.20	-.09	1												
B1	.05	.23	.05	.08	-.04	.31	1											
B2	.13	.29	-.01	.18	-.09	.08	.30	1										
B3	.25	.21	.01	.09	.06	-.06	.17	.21	1									
B4	.25	.20	.15	.28	.03	.01	.13	.25	.36	1								
B5	.10	.15	-.01	.10	-.07	-.10	.14	.16	.10	.33	1							
B6	.39	.39	.03	.37	-.04	.30	.30	.34	.27	.11	-.05	1						
A1	.20	.32	.24	.33	.05	.23	.30	.35	.26	.32	.13	.27	1					
A2	.20	.30	.36	.22	-.05	.17	.46	.16	.36	.12	.08	.23	.32	1				
A3	.08	.28	.13	.22	-.01	.27	.54	.33	.35	.26	.14	.32	.35	.54	1			
A4	.35	.27	.36	.42	-.03	.28	.27	.29	.24	.34	.11	.38	.51	.43	.40	1		
A5	.26	.32	.24	.30	.08	.19	.36	.28	.41	.34	.15	.38	.57	.43	.44	.57	1	
A6	.32	.48	.17	.46	-.06	.16	.28	.27	.25	.42	.07	.45	.52	.35	.44	.50	.51	1

NOTE: Correlations printed bold are significant at the .01 level (1-tailed).

Items printed bold were reverse-coded.

Table C.2 *Pearson correlations for sample: Muslims*

	C1	C2	C3	C4	C6	C9	B1	B2	B3	B4	B5	B6	A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	A6
C1	1																	
C2	.31	1																
C3	.36	.22	1															
C4	.28	.45	.15	1														
C6	-.21	-.02	-.20	.11	1													
C9	.02	.17	.08	.29	-.05	1												
B1	.07	.12	.05	.18	-.08	.21	1											
B2	.13	.36	.14	.28	.07	-.07	.22	1										
B3	.27	.30	.14	.24	.06	.04	.42	.44	1									
B4	.07	.07	-.05	.10	.10	-.00	.06	.19	.24	1								
B5	-.05	-.01	-.13	-.09	.15	-.04	.07	.11	.15	.12	1							
B6	.08	.03	-.03	.14	.07	.16	.14	.33	.30	.16	.10	1						
A1	.04	.35	.05	.39	.23	.17	.34	.37	.42	.25	.11	.13	1					
A2	.12	.14	.18	.14	-.04	.28	.41	.31	.37	.24	.10	.31	.35	1				
A3	.09	.33	.13	.27	-.04	.14	.51	.41	.31	.26	.23	.30	.36	.44	1			
A4	.28	.46	.09	.44	.28	.07	.04	.34	.23	.21	.10	.15	.30	.13	.29	1		
A5	.27	.23	.25	.26	-.15	.20	.47	.29	.39	.22	.13	.29	.22	.53	.61	.25	1	
A6	.30	.51	.20	.50	-.08	.09	.15	.33	.26	.21	.12	.12	.33	.12	.38	.56	.29	1

NOTE: Correlations printed bold are significant at the .01 level (1-tailed).

Items printed bold were reverse-coded.

Table C.3 *Pearson correlations for sample: Moroccan youths.*

	C1	C2	C3	C4	C6	C9	B1	B2	B3	B4	B5	B6	A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	A6
C1	1																	
C2	.43	1																
C3	.42	.24	1															
C4	.44	.47	.29	1														
C6	.11	.08	-.12	.02	1													
C9	.27	.29	.20	.20	-.05	1												
B1	.22	.33	.20	.40	.10	.04	1											
B2	.29	.46	.30	.48	.09	.26	.31	1										
B3	.32	.38	.27	.18	.25	.05	.26	.38	1									
B4	.01	.45	.12	.22	.21	.14	.29	.33	.37	1								
B5	.03	.31	.12	.09	.21	.20	.28	.12	.29	.38	1							
B6	.41	.37	.25	.42	.14	.19	.19	.59	.48	.19	.19	1						
A1	.38	.64	.34	.54	.11	.31	.30	.42	.37	.35	.30	.44	1					
A2	.46	.55	.42	.56	.06	.21	.47	.49	.49	.39	.26	.45	.58	1				
A3	.20	.37	.36	.38	-.01	.10	.49	.40	.39	.45	.25	.27	.43	.54	1			
A4	.41	.59	.23	.43	-.00	.33	.19	.43	.27	.35	.27	.40	.54	.55	.34	1		
A5	.41	.52	.30	.43	.04	.14	.37	.48	.52	.44	.36	.44	.53	.65	.52	.47	1	
A6	.45	.68	.39	.59	.13	.17	.38	.44	.43	.48	.33	.46	.64	.65	.56	.47	.61	1

NOTE: Correlations printed bold are significant at the .01 level (1-tailed).

Items printed bold were reverse-coded.

TEVEEL VOOR LIEF NEMEN?: EEN ONDERZOEK NAAR DE METING VAN SOCIALE ATTITUDES.

Attitude-onderzoek vindt in het algemeen plaats met behulp van gestandaardiseerde vragenlijsten met gesloten vragen waarbij stellingen aan de respondenten worden voorgelegd met de vraag in hoeverre zij het daarmee eens of oneens zijn. Dat type onderzoek heeft een lange traditie in de sociale wetenschappen. Het doel van dit proefschrift was te onderzoeken onder welke condities de basisveronderstellingen van traditioneel attitude-onderzoek houdbaar zijn.

De basisveronderstellingen van traditioneel attitude-onderzoek zijn: 1) mensen hebben een eenduidig beeld van het attitude-object als een afzonderlijke entiteit; 2) het is mogelijk om hun evaluaties ten aanzien van dit beeld te meten; 3) de beelden zijn vergelijkbaar tussen mensen, dat wil zeggen mensen kennen dezelfde denotatieve betekenis toe aan het in de vragenlijst gepresenteerde attitude-object. Hoewel in traditioneel attitude-onderzoek deze assumpties zelden expliciet genoemd worden komen deze wel impliciet tot uiting in een definitie van attitudes als mentale objecten versus fysieke objecten (zie bijv. Van der Pligt & de Vries, 1995). We waren in het bijzonder geïnteresseerd in hoeverre de geldigheid van deze aannames afhankelijk is van het type attitude-object. In deze studie hebben we de attitudes van Nederlandse volwassenen gemeten ten aanzien van drie verschillende sociale groepen die veel besproken worden zowel in het publieke debat als in de media in Nederland. Deze sociale groepen zijn allochtonen, Moslims en Marokkaanse jongeren.

ALGEMEEN OVERZICHT VAN DE STUDIE

We combineren in deze studie de antwoorden op open en gesloten vragen om de validiteit van de hierboven genoemde veronderstellingen te toetsen. Als theoretisch uitgangspunt voor de vragenlijst hebben we gebruik gemaakt van het drie-componenten model van Eagly en Chaiken (1993). In dit model worden drie componenten van attitudes onderscheiden: namelijk een cognitieve, een affectieve en een conatieve component. In deze studie hebben we de volgorde van traditioneel attitude-onderzoek gevolgd. Dit houdt in dat we in eerste instantie schalen hebben ontworpen op basis van de antwoorden van de respondenten op *gesloten* vragen. Vervolgens hebben we door middel van een confirmatieve factoranalyse getoetst in hoeverre het drie-componenten model bij onze data past. Vanwege de discrepantie tussen het model en de data van ons onderzoek zijn we op zoek gegaan naar een ander model. Uiteindelijk zijn we gekomen tot een nieuw attitude-model te weten: het beeld dat respondenten hebben van de betreffende groep en de manier waarop zij de persoonlijke relatie met (leden van) die

groep ervaren. De mate waarin deze componenten met elkaar samenhangen, bleek afhankelijk van het onderwerp van de vragenlijst. Vervolgens hebben we de antwoorden van de respondenten op een *open* vraag gebruikt om inzicht te krijgen in de logica van dit nieuwe attitude-model.

De antwoorden op de open vraag bevestigden de nieuwe attitude-structuur. Echter de antwoorden op de open vraag bleken slechts gedeeltelijk nuttig om te ontdekken *waarom* de relaties tussen attitude-componenten afhankelijk waren van het onderwerp van de vragenlijst. We hebben ons daarom vervolgens geconcentreerd op de referentiekaders van de respondenten met betrekking tot het attitude-object. We hebben de antwoorden van de open vragen gebruikt om onze belangrijkste onderzoeksvragen te beantwoorden. Deze onderzoeksvragen zijn: 1) Kennen respondenten een eenduidige, denotatieve betekenis toe aan het attitude-object? en 2) Is er sprake van overeenstemming tussen respondenten over deze denotatieve betekenis?

Ook de denotatieve betekenis van de evaluatieve termen in de vraagformuleringen kan variëren. Als respondenten verschillende betekenissen toekennen aan evaluatieve termen met betrekking tot de sociale groep die in de vragenlijst wordt gepresenteerd, dan is er sprake van operationele problemen. Aan het eind van het proefschrift bediscussieerden we twee voorbeelden daarvan.

DE STRUCTUUR VAN ATTITUDES

We zijn we ons onderzoek gestart met het onderzoeken van de structuur van attitudes. We hebben onze vragenlijst gebaseerd op het drie-componenten model van Eagly en Chaiken (1993). Onze vragenlijst bevatte een serie van gesloten vragen over cognities, gedragsintenties en affecten ten aanzien van de drie sociale groepen. Onze hypothese betreffende de structuur van attitudes luidde:

Een sociale attitude bestaat uit drie componenten, dat wil zeggen een cognitieve, een conatieve en een affectieve component.

Zoals we al eerder aangaven hebben we de attitudes van volwassen Nederlanders gemeten ten aanzien van drie sociale groepen als attitude-object: allochtonen, Moslims en Marokkaanse jongeren. Men zou verwachten dat wanneer de attitude-structuur onafhankelijk is van het onderwerp (zoals het model verondersteld), dezelfde structuur zou gelden voor zowel allochtonen, als Moslims, als Marokkaanse jongeren. We hebben het drie-componenten model getoetst op onze drie steekproeven.

Ons eerste resultaat was dat het drie-componenten model niet goed past en daarom hebben we de hierboven geformuleerde hypothese moeten verwerpen. Dit resultaat gaf aan dat een algemene attitude-structuur gebaseerd op drie componenten een luchtkasteel lijkt te zijn, in ieder geval in deze studie.

OP WEG NAAR EEN NIEUW ATTITUDE-MODEL

Aangezien het drie-componenten model niet op onze data bleek te passen, hebben we een exploratieve factor analyse uitgevoerd om te kijken of er een alternatief attitude-model te vinden was dat beter aansloot op onze data. We vonden bewijs voor een andere attitude-structuur. Dit model heeft maar twee componenten: één component betreft items die betrekking hebben op het imago dat respondenten hebben van de sociale groep (bijvoorbeeld het imago van criminele Marokkaanse jongeren). De tweede component bevat items over de wijze waarop de eigen relatie van de respondent met (leden van) de sociale groep (bijvoorbeeld de relatie met een jonge Marokkaanse collega) wordt ervaren. Deze laatste component doet denken aan de sociale afstand schaal van Bogardus (1925).

We hebben de resultaten van deze exploratieve factor analyse getest door nogmaals een confirmatieve factor analyse uit te voeren. De resultaten van deze tweede confirmatieve factor analyse lieten zien dat dit model een betere representatie is voor de structuur van attitudes ten aanzien van sociale groepen. Dit model paste goed in het geval van de drie afzonderlijke steekproeven. We vonden echter wel een sterk effect van het onderwerp van de vragenlijst op de hoogte van de correlaties tussen de twee componenten. Dat wil zeggen: bij bepaalde onderwerpen was de samenhang (correlatie) tussen imago en relatie sterker dan bij andere. De samenhang tussen de twee componenten was het hoogst in de steekproef waarbij respondenten vragen waren gesteld over Marokkaanse jongeren en het laagst in de steekproef waar respondenten geïnterviewd werden over Moslims in Nederland. We zijn ons er van bewust dat deze resultaten sterker zouden zijn als we de tweede confirmatieve factor analyse uitgevoerd zouden hebben op een nieuwe of in ieder geval andere data-set. Echter dit was in dit onderzoek geen optie door beperkingen in zowel tijd als financiële middelen. De antwoorden op de open vragen maakten het echter mogelijk om informatie te verzamelen die gebruikt kon worden voor het staven van het nieuwe model. We hebben achtereenvolgens gekeken of respondenten tijdens het beantwoorden van de open vragen ook een onderscheid maken tussen het imago van de sociale groep en hoe de respondenten zichzelf relateren tot (leden van) de sociale groep. We gebruikten deze antwoorden ook om de verschillen in de correlatie tussen de factoren bij de verschillende sociale groepen te verklaren.

Onze eerste open vraag richtte zich op het imago dat respondenten hebben van respectievelijk allochtonen, Moslims of Marokkaanse jongeren. We ontdekten dat wanneer respondenten in hun *eigen* woorden over de sociale groepen konden praten, de helft van hen ook spontaan een onderscheid maakte tussen het imago dat ze van de sociale groep hebben (component 1) en hun eigen relatie met (leden van) de groep (component 2). Een voorbeeld hiervan is een respondent die een negatief beeld van Moslims beschrijft, maar die daarnaast ook een positieve persoonlijke relatie met een Islamitische babysitter beschrijft. Het feit dat respondenten een systematisch onderscheid maken tussen een algemeen imago van een groep en persoonlijk ervaren relaties met (leden van) die groep is een bevestiging van ons nieuwe twee-componenten model.

Onze resultaten van de kwantitatieve analyses wezen erop dat in het twee-componenten model de mate waarin de twee componenten samenhangen, afhankelijk was van het onderwerp van de vragenlijst. Deze stelling werd gedeeltelijk bevestigd in de antwoorden op onze open vragen. Enerzijds bleek dat respondenten die ondervraagd werden over Marokkaanse jongeren vaker geneigd waren om een imago en hun eigen relatie te beschrijven die met elkaar in overeenstemming zijn. Anderzijds verklaarden de antwoorden op de open vragen niet de zwakke samenhang tussen de twee componenten in de steekproef waarin respondenten ondervraagd werden over Moslims in Nederland. Het vermoeden rees dat dit mogelijk iets te maken zou kunnen heeft met het referentiekader dat respondenten hebben met betrekking tot deze specifieke sociale groep. In de volgende stap in het onderzoek richtten wij ons daarom op deze referentiekaders ten aanzien van het attitude-object, dat wil zeggen de verschillende sociale groepen.

OVER DE VALIDITEIT VAN ATTITUDE-METINGEN

Een belangrijke reden voor deze studie was te onderzoeken onder welke condities de basisveronderstellingen van het traditionele attitude-onderzoek houdbaar zijn. Het is op zijn minst opmerkelijk dat het referentiekader van de respondent betreffende het attitude-object en de mogelijke invloed die dit kan hebben op de validiteit van attitude-metingen, nauwelijks aandacht krijgt in dit type onderzoek. In de praktijk van traditioneel attitude-onderzoek wordt geen rekening gehouden met de mogelijkheid dat er individuele verschillen zijn in het interpreteren van het attitude-object. McGuire (1989) beweert dat attitude-objecten kunnen verschillen in hoe concreet ze zijn. Hij geeft aan dat attitude-objecten relatief concreet kunnen zijn (bijvoorbeeld 'moeder' of 'zoon') maar ook meer complex of zelfs aggregaten (bijvoorbeeld 'asielzoekers'). Uiteraard is de kans groter dat respondenten

hetzelfde referentiekader ten aanzien van een attitude-object hebben wanneer het een concreet, duidelijk attitude-object betreft, zoals het object ‘moeder’. Dit hoeft niet te betekenen dat respondenten het attitude-object op dezelfde manier evalueren (voor de een heeft ‘moeder’ een positievere betekenis dan voor de ander), maar de denotatieve betekenis lijkt in dit geval buiten kijf te staan. Een andere situatie doet zich voor wanneer het om een minder concreet attitude-object gaat, zoals asielzoekers. Respondenten kunnen dit object bijvoorbeeld interpreteren als illegalen, politieke vluchtelingen, economische vluchtelingen etc. Als gevolg daarvan spelen bij een attitude-object als ‘asielzoekers’ de verschillen in referentiekaders tussen respondenten een veel grotere rol en lijken de basisveronderstellingen van traditioneel attitude-onderzoek moeilijker houdbaar.

EENDUIDIGHEID VAN EN CONSENSUS OVER DE DENOTATIEVE BETEKENIS VAN HET ATTITUDE-OBJECT

In ons vooronderzoek (pilot-studie, zie hoofdstuk 4) hebben we de attitudes onderzocht van studenten van de Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam ten aanzien van Moslims in Nederland. Uit deze voorstudie bleek dat de overgrote meerderheid van de ondervraagde studenten geneigd was het attitude-object ‘Moslims in Nederland’ te differentiëren, waarbij ze een onderscheid maakten tussen fundamentalistische en gematigde Moslims. In onze hoofdstudie hebben we twee andere attitude-objecten toegevoegd: ‘Marokkaanse jongeren’ en ‘allochtonen’.

Op basis van de manier waarop de media met de sociale groep Marokkaanse jongeren omgaan alsook het publieke debat omtrent deze groep verwachtten we dat respondenten een eenduidige denotatieve betekenis aan deze groep zouden toekennen. We verwachtten tevens dat er overeenstemming zou zijn tussen respondenten over de denotatieve betekenis van het attitude-object ‘Marokkaanse jongeren’. Bij het vraagonderwerp ‘allochtonen’ hadden we de verwachting dat respondenten aan dit attitude-object juist geen eenduidige denotatieve betekenis toekennen en ook dat er dissensus zou zijn tussen respondenten over deze denotatieve betekenis. Bij het vraagonderwerp ‘Moslims’ hadden we de verwachting dat er wel consensus zou zijn over de denotatieve betekenis maar dat deze denotatie niet eenduidig zou zijn.

Eenduidigheid en consensus met betrekking tot de attitude-objecten.

	Eenduidigheid van het attitude-object	Consensus
Marokkaanse jongeren	+	+
Moslims	-	+
Allochtonen	-	-

We hebben uiteindelijk zes hypothesen geformuleerd over de al of niet eenduidige denotatieve betekenis die respondenten toekennen aan het attitude-object en over de mate van consensus tussen respondenten over deze denotatieve betekenis:

- 1a. *Respondenten die praten over Marokkaanse jongeren zijn meer geneigd een eenduidige, denotatieve betekenis toe te kennen aan deze groep dan respondenten die praten over Moslims.*
- 1b. *Respondenten die praten over Marokkaanse jongeren zijn meer geneigd een eenduidige, denotatieve betekenis toe te kennen aan deze groep dan respondenten die praten over allochtonen.*
- 1c. *Respondenten die hun gevoelens uiten ten aanzien van Marokkaanse jongeren zijn minder geneigd gemengde gevoelens te uiten dan respondenten die hun gevoelens uiten ten aanzien van Moslims.*
- 1d. *Respondenten die hun gevoelens uiten ten aanzien van Marokkaanse jongeren zijn minder geneigd gemengde gevoelens te uiten dan respondenten die hun gevoelens uiten ten aanzien van allochtonen.*
- 2a. *Het is minder waarschijnlijk dat er consensus is tussen respondenten over de denotatieve betekenis van het attitude-object 'allochtonen' dan over de denotatieve betekenis van het attitude-object 'Moslims'.*
- 2b. *Het is minder waarschijnlijk dat er consensus is tussen respondenten over de denotatieve betekenis van het attitude-object 'allochtonen' dan over de denotatieve betekenis van het attitude-object 'Marokkaanse jongeren'.*

De resultaten van onze hoofdstudie stelden ons in staat vijf van deze zes hypothesen te accepteren. We vonden dat respondenten een eenduidige denotatieve betekenis toekennen aan het attitude-object 'Marokkaanse jongeren' en dat er sprake is van grote overeenstemming tussen respondenten over deze eenduidige denotatieve betekenis. Respondenten die praatten over Marokkaanse jongeren verschilden hierin met respondenten die werden geïnterviewd over allochtonen en Moslims. Dit resultaat is een duidelijke indicatie dat respondenten een eenduidig beeld hebben van de sociale groep 'Marokkaanse jongeren'. Bovendien wanneer mensen vrijelijk over deze groep praatten kenden ze predikaten toe aan deze groep die voornamelijk betrekking hadden op negatief gedrag. In andere woorden, respondenten begonnen dus direct met het evalueren van deze groep zonder dat zij deze groep differentieerden.

Respondenten die praten over allochtonen kenden geen eenduidige, denotatieve betekenis toe aan deze groep en tevens bleek er geen overeenstemming tussen respondenten over de denotatieve betekenis van dit attitude-object. Respondenten bleken over een grote variëteit van sociale groepen te

praten. We vonden ook dat respondenten wisselden tussen de sociale groep afhankelijk van het onderwerp van de vraag. Bijvoorbeeld, een respondent praatte over Moslims wanneer de vraag over religie ging, vervolgens sprak zij over Aziaten toen de vraag betrekking had op aanpassen en tenslotte sprak zij over Marokkaanse jongeren toen de vraag ging over bedreigd voelen. Ook bleek dat respondenten geneigd waren het attitude-object 'allochtonen' te differentiëren in allerlei soorten sociale groepen, bijvoorbeeld, Turken versus Marokkanen, Aziaten versus Turken, verwesterde allochtonen versus allochtonen die zich afzijdig houden van de Nederlandse samenleving etc.

De resultaten betreffende het attitude-object 'Moslims' waren in overeenstemming met de resultaten van onze pilot-studie. De overgrote meerderheid van de respondenten maakte een onderscheid tussen gematigde en radicale Moslims. Dit resultaat geeft aan dat respondenten geen eenduidige denotatieve betekenis toekennen aan het attitude-object 'Moslims'. Echter, er was wel sprake van een grote mate van overeenstemming tussen respondenten over deze tweedeling van het attitude-object 'Moslims'.

De resultaten van het hoofdonderzoek stelden ons niet in staat beide hypothesen over het uiten van gevoelens ten aanzien van de verschillende sociale groepen te bevestigen. Respondenten waren meer geneigd gemengde gevoelens te uiten ten aanzien van Moslims dan ten aanzien van Marokkaanse jongeren. Echter, we vonden geen verschil tussen het aantal respondenten dat gemengde gevoelens uitten ten aanzien van Marokkaanse jongeren en allochtonen. We hebben het idee dat dit iets te maken heeft met het feit dat de meeste respondenten alleen neutrale, niet uitgesproken, gevoelens uitten ten aanzien allochtonen.

DE INTERPRETATIE VAN HET ATTITUDE-OBJECT EN HET ANTWOORDGEDRAG BIJ GESLOTEN VRAGEN

Op basis van de resultaten van onze pilot-studie hebben we een hypothese geformuleerd over de invloed van het al of niet differentiëren van het attitude-object tijdens het beantwoorden van open vragen op het antwoordgedrag op vergelijkbare gesloten vragen. De hypothese luidde als volgt:

Respondenten die het attitude-object differentiëren als ze open vragen beantwoorden, zijn meer geneigd dan respondenten die het attitude object niet differentiëren een van de middelste antwoordcategorieën te kiezen wanneer zij een vergelijkbare stellingvraag beantwoorden.

De resultaten van onze hoofdstudie stelde ons in staat deze hypothese te aanvaarden: Respondenten die het attitude-object differentieerden in twee (of meer) subgroepen en ten aanzien van deze subgroepen tegengestelde meningen hebben, bleken bij de gesloten vraag meer geneigd een van de middelste antwoordcategorieën te kiezen als een soort gemiddelde van de negatieve en positieve meningen over de subgroepen.

In het kader van onze algemene onderzoeksvraag is dit een bijzonder interessant resultaat. Immers, in traditioneel attitude-onderzoek worden de antwoorden in de middelste antwoordcategorieën meestal gezien als indicatoren van een min of meer neutrale houding ten aanzien van het attitude-object. Deze studie laat echter zien dat dit een eenzijdige interpretatie van de antwoorden in de middelste antwoordcategorieën is. Wanneer respondenten de in de vragenlijst gepresenteerde sociale groep differentiëren in (twee of meerdere) subgroepen en tevens contrasterende meningen hebben ten aanzien van deze subgroepen (bijvoorbeeld positief ten aanzien van gematigde Moslims, maar zeer negatief over extremistische Moslims in Nederland), hebben deze respondenten in feite niet één positie op de evaluatieve dimensie van ‘de’ attitude over de sociale groep waarover zij ondervraagd werden. Met andere woorden, voor hen bestaat het attitude-object (‘Moslims in Nederland’) zoals gesteld in de vragenlijst niet.

Samengevat betekent dit dat attitude-onderzoekers er rekening mee moeten houden dat deze alternatieve interpretatie, het middelen van contrasterende meningen ten aanzien van subgroepen, van de antwoorden van respondenten in de middelste antwoordcategorieën een meer adequate interpretatie kan zijn dan de traditionele uitleg van deze keuze, dat wil zeggen als zijnde een neutrale mening ten aanzien van het attitude-object.

IMPLICATIES VOOR ATTITUDE-ONDERZOEK

Hoewel de hierboven beschreven resultaten op zich al intrigerend zijn, blijft de centrale vraag natuurlijk: Wat betekenen deze resultaten voor de basisveronderstellingen van attitude-onderzoek? Wij stellen dat *alleen* wanneer respondenten een vergelijkbare, eenduidige, denotatieve betekenis aan het attitude-object toekennen, de basis assumpties van traditioneel onderzoek buiten kijf staan.

We voorzien echter wel serieuze problemen voor de validiteit van attitude-onderzoek in het geval respondenten een minder eenduidige denotatieve betekenis aan het attitude-object toekennen, alsook wanneer er verschil is tussen de denotatieve betekenissen die verschillende respondenten aan het attitude-object toekennen.

We beschrijven achtereenvolgens twee problemen wat betreft dit soort attitude-objecten:

1. Respondenten kennen geen eenduidige, denotatieve betekenis toe aan het attitude-object;
2. Er is geen consensus tussen respondenten over de denotatieve betekenis van het attitude-object.

Als respondenten geen eenduidige denotatieve betekenis toekennen aan het attitude-object kunnen er twee processen optreden. Ten eerste, respondenten die een gesloten vraag beantwoorden en het attitude-object differentiëren in twee of meer subgroepen kunnen de houding ten aanzien van deze subgroepen middelen en op basis daarvan een van de middelste antwoordcategorieën kiezen. Deze keuze representeert dan dus niet een min of meer neutrale houding ten aanzien van het attitude-object (zoals traditioneel attitude-onderzoek veronderstelt), maar is in feite een gemiddelde van verschillende uitgesproken meningen ten aanzien van twee of meerdere delen van het attitude-object. Echter, wanneer alle respondenten dit consequent doen, heeft dit geen effect op de correlaties tussen de items. Immers alle antwoorden vallen in dezelfde middelste antwoordcategorieën. De hoogte van deze correlaties wordt vaak gebruikt als indicator van een goede betrouwbaarheid van het onderzoek, bijvoorbeeld Cronbach's alfa (Cronbach, 1961).

Het tweede proces betreft de situatie waarin respondenten het ene moment aan het ene deel van het attitude-object (bijvoorbeeld 'gematigde Moslims') denken en daar een positieve houding ten aanzien van hebben en het andere moment aan het andere deel van het attitude-object denken waar zij een negatieve houding ten aanzien van hebben (bijvoorbeeld 'radicale Moslims'). In tegenstelling tot het eerste proces dat wij beschreven, kan dit tweede proces wel leiden tot een lage inter-item correlaties. De antwoorden kunnen in deze situatie namelijk in hoge mate variëren, namelijk van zeer positief tot zeer negatief.

Wij stellen dat beide processen van invloed zijn op de validiteit van attitude-onderzoek, omdat onderzoekers niet kunnen aannemen dat alle respondenten het hebben over het (ongedifferentieerde) attitude-object zoals gepresenteerd in de vragenlijst. De consequentie hiervan is dat de vergelijkbaarheid van de antwoorden in gevaar komt. Tenslotte kunnen deze processen ook een negatieve invloed hebben op de betrouwbaarheid van de attitude-metingen.

OPERATIONELE PROBLEMEN

Naast de hierboven beschreven conceptuele problemen in attitude-onderzoek kan de validiteit van attitude-onderzoek ook door operationele problemen aangetast worden. Wij stellen dat operationele problemen optreden wanneer respondenten niet hetzelfde referentiekader hanteren voor het interpreteren van termen die in de vragenlijst gebruikt worden om het attitude-object te evalueren. Een

onderliggende veronderstelling in traditioneel attitude-onderzoek is dat mensen ongeveer hetzelfde referentiekader gebruiken voor de evaluatieve predikaten die gepresenteerd worden in de gesloten vraag. Wij hebben twee voorbeelden van operationele problemen onderzocht.

‘AANPASSEN AAN DE NEDERLANDSE MAATSCHAPPIJ’

De uitdrukking “Buitenlanders moeten zich aanpassen aan de Nederlandse maatschappij” is een veelgebezigde uitdrukking in zowel de media als in dagelijkse conversaties. Ook in attitude-onderzoek over multiculturalisme en/of immigratie maakt deze uitdrukking vaak deel uit van een vragenlijst. Om deze reden hebben we respondenten de volgende open vraag voorgelegd: “Vindt u dat (allochtonen, Moslims, Marokkaanse jongeren) zich voldoende of onvoldoende aanpassen aan de Nederlandse samenleving?”. Nadat respondenten deze vraag beantwoord hadden, vroegen de interviewers aan de respondenten wat zij eigenlijk verstaan onder ‘goed aangepast’. Uit de antwoorden op deze vraag bleek dat de interpretatie van respondenten van deze term varieerde van ‘zich houden aan de Nederlandse wet’ tot ‘volledige assimilatie aan de Nederlandse manier van leven’. Het lijkt duidelijk dat wanneer een respondent het ‘volledig eens’ is met de stelling “Verreweg de meeste allochtonen hebben zich goed aangepast aan de Nederlandse samenleving” en deze respondent ‘goed aangepast’ interpreteert als dat allochtonen zich dienen te houden aan de Nederlandse wet, dit iets anders inhoudt dan de ‘volledig mee eens’ van een respondent die ‘goed aanpassen’ interpreteert als volledige assimilatie aan de Nederlandse samenleving.

‘BEDREIGD VOELEN’

Het tweede voorbeeld aangaande operationele problemen dat in dit proefschrift beschreven wordt, richt zich op de term ‘bedreigd voelen’. We vroegen de respondenten eerst de ‘ja-nee’-vraag “Heeft u zich wel eens bedreigd gevoeld door (allochtonen, Moslims, Marokkaanse jongeren)?”. Deze vraag werd gevolgd door de vraag: “Kunt u me daar iets meer over vertellen?”

De antwoorden op de eerste vraag hebben wij gecodeerd met het antwoord van de respondenten, dus ‘ja’ of ‘nee’. Tijdens het coderen van de antwoorden op de vervolgvraag kwamen we er echter achter dat de respondenten niet hetzelfde referentiekader hanteerden bij het interpreteren van de uitdrukking ‘bedreigd voelen’. De eerste groep van respondenten rapporteerde een oncomfortabel gevoel over de sociale groep in kwestie. Echter slechts de helft van deze respondenten gaven als antwoord ‘ja’ op de vraag of ze zich wel eens bedreigd hadden gevoeld door leden van de sociale groep, terwijl de andere helft van deze respondenten deze vraag met ‘nee’ beantwoordde. De laatste groep

respondenten hanteerde een nauwere definitie van ‘bedreigd voelen’ namelijk als daadwerkelijke ‘fysieke bedreiging’. Onderzoekers dienen zich bewust te zijn van deze verschillen in interpretaties tussen respondenten. In hoofdstuk 8 laten we zien dat de hierboven verschillen in definiëring van de term ‘bedreigd voelen’ grote invloed kan hebben op de resultaten van een studie.

IMPLICATIES VOOR ATTITUDE-ONDERZOEK

In tegenstelling tot de eerder beschreven conceptuele problemen over het referentiekader dat respondenten hebben van het attitude-object, beschouwen we operationele problemen als meetproblemen. Het grote probleem in de hierboven gegeven voorbeelden is de breedte van de definitie die respondenten hebben van termen die voorkomen in de vragen. Wij stellen dat additionele open vragen een bijdrage kunnen leveren om dit soort problemen op te sporen. De informatie die verkregen wordt met de antwoorden op deze open vragen kan vervolgens gebruikt worden voor het interpreteren van de antwoordpatronen op de gesloten vragen (of natuurlijk voor de herformulering van de gesloten vragen wanneer het een vooronderzoek betreft).

HET GEBRUIK VAN OPEN VRAGEN IN GROOTSCHALIG ATTITUDE-ONDERZOEK

In deze studie hebben we ongeveer driehonderd respondenten ondervraagd over hun houding ten aanzien van allochtonen, Moslims of Marokkaanse jongeren. We hebben dit gedaan aan de hand van open en gesloten vragen. Deze studie is een van de weinige studies waarbij een kwalitatieve aanpak gebruikt wordt bij een relatief grote steekproef. De grootte van de steekproef stelde ons in staat om de groepen op een statistisch verantwoorde manier te vergelijken. Tegelijkertijd beperkte de grootte van de steekproef ons echter in de soort en het aantal coderingen dat we aan onze transcripten konden toekennen. We stellen dan ook dat het coderen van de data in relatief grote steekproeven zo zuinig mogelijk moet gebeuren. Het coderen zou anders veel te tijdrovend en kostbaar worden. Het toepassen van arbeidsintensieve technieken zoals conversatie- of discourse-analyses lijkt haast onmogelijk op een dergelijke grote hoeveelheid data en daarbij moet men zich ook de vraag stellen of dit wel noodzakelijk is. Gezien deze beperkingen is het de vraag of het gebruik van open vragen in combinatie met gesloten vragen (*mixed methods*) in dit onderzoek de moeite waard is geweest.

Immers, het is vanzelfsprekend dat het verwerken van antwoorden op open vragen meer tijd vergt dan het verwerken van antwoorden op gesloten vragen. Elke onderzoeker moet de beslissing over het al dan niet toevoegen van open vragen in een studie natuurlijk zelf nemen. Echter, wanneer het

aannemelijk is te verwachten dat respondenten verschillende referentiekaders gebruiken ten aanzien van het attitude-object en in het bijzonder wanneer het attitude-object minder concreet is of een aggregaat betreft stellen wij dat het gebruik van open vragen in attitude-onderzoek *noodzakelijk* is. In dit geval zijn twijfels over de validiteit en/of betrouwbaarheid van de basisveronderstellingen van attitude-onderzoek gerechtvaardigd.

We kunnen stellen dat gezien het methodologische doel van de centrale onderzoeksvraag, het voor deze studie van belang was dat alle respondenten zowel open als gesloten vragen beantwoordden en dat het gebruik van gesloten en open vragen ons voorzag van inzichten hierin die we niet hadden verkregen als we respondenten alleen gesloten vragen hadden gesteld.

Desondanks lijkt het in de dagelijkse praktijk van attitude-onderzoek meer haalbaar om open vragen en gesloten vragen te combineren in een kleinere steekproef. Bovendien is zo'n *mixed methods* benadering met name de moeite waard als het attitude-object complex of een aggregaat is. In dat geval kunnen de antwoorden op open vragen de onderzoekers onmisbare inzichten verschaffen in mogelijke conceptuele en operationele problemen.

SUGGESTIES VOOR TOEKOMSTIG ONDERZOEK

Onze studie roept nieuwe vragen op over de structuur van attitudes en de invloed van de individuele referentiekaders die respondenten hebben van het attitude-object op de resultaten van attitude-onderzoek.

EEN NIEUWE ATTITUDE-STRUCTUUR

Uit deze studie komt een nieuwe attitude-structuur naar voren, namelijk een twee-componenten model waarbij de ene component zich richt op het imago dat respondenten hebben van het attitude-object en de andere component zich richt op de relatie tussen de respondent en het attitude-object (in dit geval (leden van) een sociale groep) zoals die door de respondent ervaren wordt.

Deze studie richtte zich op een specifiek type attitudes, namelijk standpunten ten aanzien van bepaalde sociale groepen. Het zou interessant zijn om te testen of deze nieuwe attitude-structuur ook houdbaar is in andere gebieden van attitude-onderzoek. Hierbij kan getest worden of de gevonden attitude-structuur ook van toepassing is bij standpunten ten aanzien van producten, vrijheid of democratie. In geval van het meten van de attitude ten aanzien van bijvoorbeeld een bepaald merk zou

de eerste component items bevatten over het imago van een merk en zou de tweede component betrekking hebben op hoe consumenten zichzelf relateren tot het merk.

REPLICATIES VAN DE RESULTATEN IN ANDERE SITUATIES

Een van de belangrijkste resultaten van deze studie betreft de voorwaarden waaronder de basis assumpties van traditioneel attitude-onderzoek houdbaar zijn, dat wil zeggen 1) respondenten hebben een eenduidige, denotatieve betekenis van het attitude-object en 2) er is sprake van consensus tussen respondenten over deze denotatieve betekenis. Deze studie heeft zich daarbij gericht op een specifiek domein van attitude-onderzoek, namelijk dat van de attitudes ten aanzien van sociale groepen. Toekomstig onderzoek zou kunnen nagaan of onze bevindingen betreffende de concreetheid van het attitude-object ook steekhoudend zijn in het geval van andere attitude-objecten en dus andere domeinen van attitude-onderzoek.

Als laatste moet in het kader van dit onderzoek nog gewezen worden op een specifieke situatie waarin dit onderzoek plaatsvond. De data van deze studie zijn namelijk verzameld in de zes weken direct na de moord op de Nederlandse filmmaker Theo van Gogh door een jonge Moslimfundamentalist. Dit uitzonderlijke moment in de geschiedenis van de Nederlandse multiculturele samenleving heeft hoogst waarschijnlijk invloed gehad op de resultaten van deze studie. Gedurende deze periode was er massale aandacht in de Nederlandse media voor Moslims en Moslim extremisten. Ook het publieke debat leek zich volledig te concentreren op de Moslimgemeenschap in Nederland. Het zou bijzonder interessant zijn om na te gaan of de resultaten van deze studie, in het bijzonder de resultaten betreffende het attitude-object 'Moslims', ook houdbaar zijn in een periode waarin noch de media noch het publieke debat zich zo concentreert op kwesties rondom de Nederlandse immigranten bevolking. Tegelijkertijd bieden de uitkomsten van deze studie ook hoop voor de Nederlandse multiculturele samenleving. Immers, zelfs in een tijd dat de volledige Nederlandse media vol stonden met nieuws over Moslim extremisten, maakte nog steeds de overgrote meerderheid van de respondenten een onderscheid tussen gematigde Moslims en extremistische Moslims. Dit resultaat van deze studie geeft aan dat de meerderheid van de respondenten zich realiseerde dat Mohammed B. niet representatief is voor de Nederlandse Islamitische bevolking, maar alleen voor die kleine groep extremisten binnen deze bevolkingsgroep.

AANBEVELINGEN VOOR ATTITUDE-ONDERZOEKERS

De resultaten van deze studie laten zien dat het gebruik van zowel open en gesloten vragen ons voorzag van inzichten over de condities die noodzakelijk zijn voor de aanname van de basis assumpties van traditioneel attitude-onderzoek. We willen dit proefschrift graag beëindigen met enkele belangrijke aanbevelingen voor attitude-onderzoekers die resulteerden uit deze studie, namelijk:

- Het gebruik van open vragen kan onderzoekers inzichten geven in de validiteit van confirmatieve factor analyses. Meer specifiek, antwoorden op open vragen kunnen de onderzoeker additioneel bewijs bezorgen voor al dan niet gevonden attitude-structuren;
- Antwoorden van respondenten in de middelste antwoordcategorieën ('een beetje mee eens', 'niet mee eens/niet mee oneens' en 'een beetje mee oneens') bij het beantwoorden van gesloten vragen kunnen indicatoren zijn dat respondenten contrasterende meningen hebben ten aanzien van delen van het attitude-object en dus niet de vaak veronderstelde min of meer neutrale mening;
- Controleer altijd of het aanvaardbaar is om aan te nemen dat respondenten een eenduidige, denotatieve betekenis toekennen aan het attitude-object. Dit kan aan de hand van een kleine kwalitatieve studie;
- Het gebruik van uitsluitend gesloten vragen voor het meten van attitudes is geen enkel probleem, als er aan twee voorwaarden wordt voldaan: 1) het is aannemelijk dat de respondenten een eenduidige, denotatieve betekenis toekennen aan het attitude-object wat onderzocht wordt en 2) er is consensus tussen respondenten over deze denotatieve betekenis;
- Het gebruik van open vragen voor het meten van attitudes is noodzakelijk als er sprake is van een attitude-object dat ambigu is. Deze ambiguïteit kan voortkomen uit het feit dat het attitude-object een aggregaat is, maar kan ook veroorzaakt worden door een meer complexe of abstracte term in de vraagstelling. In deze situatie is het toevoegen van tenminste een open (vervolg)vraag over het referentiekader dat de respondent heeft essentieel voor de validatie van de resultaten van een studie. Tevens is inzicht hierin van groot belang voor de vergelijkbaarheid van de resultaten tussen individuele respondenten of groepen van respondenten.